OPEN LETTER TO WARNER BROTHERS

by ARTIE SHAW

OV. 6
9 4 5

NEW MASSES

15¢
In Canada
20¢

PEACETIME MILITARY TRAINING?

by THE EDITORS

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A JEW

A debate: Pulitzer Prize Winner KARL SHAPIRO, NATHAN AUSUBEL, and ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

ELECTION PREVIEW

Men and issues in New York and Detroit

by LEWIS MERRILL, ABNER BERRY and JOSEPH FOSTER

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETWEEN OURSELVES

IT STRIKES us, on rereading this column for the past several weeks, that we are frequently full of pride for our associates. Our only answer is: can we help it if they're good?

For example, this warm Indian Summer day we were pleased to see a press release drifting toward us from one Henry Allen Moe, secretary general of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, announcing post-Service fellowships to "young scholars and artists who have served the nation's war effort in the armed and other governmental service . . . to persons who have demonstrated unusual capacity for research and artistic creation." The list of awards followed, and included one of our favorite people—Capt. Herbert Aptheker, whose book reviews and articles you enjoyed in NM long before he entered the Army several years ago, and who has continued writing for the magazine through basic training in this country and combat abroad. Captain Aptheker (he is also Doctor, with a PhD.), is well known as an authority on the American Negro, his most recent books *Negro History* and *Negro* [illegible] *the United States.*

[illegible]or his new book is one of the most important which could be projected at this time—the American Negro in the second world war. There is probably nobody around who could handle it as well as Dr. Aptheker.

HOW many Americans know the role minorities have played in the history of this country? For how long will we remain ignorant of the past and present, even those of us who are well meaning? It is a sickening but an unmistakable fact that too many are completely uninformed about what has gone before them, and the dangers of today's prejudices.

Which is all the more reason to welcome the Jewish School of Social Studies, at 13 Astor Place. The idea behind the venture and its execution seem to us one of the most exciting we have met up with for some time.

The school's curriculum is sound because of its realistic basis. It will include a number of courses taught by noted Jewish educators and writers—I. B. Bailin, Dr. Herbert M. Morais, Rabbi Herman Pollack, Nathan Ausubel, B. Z. Goldberg, William Zukerman, Albert Kahn, A. B. Magil (as guest lecturer), and numerous others. Classes are being taught in languages (Yiddish and Hebrew); in the history of Jews, ancient, medieval, and modern; in Jewish culture; in the specific role of the Jews in the struggle for Negro emancipation—to mention but a few. Registration for a twelve-week semester is only six dollars. As we go to press, formal registration has closed, but you still may be able to wangle a course or two even if you've missed the first sessions. It's certainly worth a try.

J. B. FURST is a practicing psychoanalyst and an instructor at the New York Jefferson School. . . . Yves Moreau is on the staff of *L'Humanite*. Karl Shapiro is a Pulitzer prize winner and the author of *Essay on Rime*. . . . Nathan Ausubel is a well known Jewish writer. . . . Ben Field needs no introduction as novelist and short story writer. . . . Bill Aalto is a veteran of World War II. . . . George Squier is an expert on labor affairs.

DOROTHY ROBERTS' concluding article in our series on the fifth column underworld has for technical reasons had to be postponed. It will appear in the November 13 issue.

NEXT Tuesday is a crucial day for New Yorkers. It is incredible that any person eligible to vote didn't register—all we can say now is "follow it up" and hit that ballot box on November 6.

M. DE A.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

Contributing Editors

LOUIS ARAGON
LIONEL BERMAN
ALVAH BESSIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
BELLA V. DODD
JOY DAVIDMAN
R. PALME DUTT
WILLIAM GROPPER
ALFRED KREYMBORG
JOHN H. LAWSON
VITO MARCANTONIO
RUTH McKENNEY
BRUCE MINTON
FREDERICK MYERS
PABLO NERUDA
SAMUEL PUTNAM
PAUL ROBESON
HOWARD SELSAM
SAMUEL SILLEN
JOSEPH STAROBIN
MAX YERGAN

Editor: **JOSEPH NORTH.** ***Associate Editors:*** **MARJORIE DE ARMA FREDERICK V. FIELD, BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRAN A. B. MAGIL, VIRGINIA SHULL, JOHN STUART.** ***Washington Edi*** **VIRGINIA GARDNER.** ***Literary Editor:*** **ISIDOR SCHNEIDER; F JOSEPH FOSTER;** ***Drama,*** **MATT WAYNE;** ***Art,*** **MOSES SO** ***Music,*** **FREDERIC EWEN;** ***Dance,*** **FRANCIS STEUBEN.** ***Editorial sistant:*** **BETTY MILLARD.** ***Business Manager:*** **LOTTIE GORD** ***Field Director:*** **DORETTA TARMON.** ***Advertising Manager:*** **TRUDE CHASE.**

* On leave with the armed forces.

Atom Splitters in the Senate Virginia Gardner
Behind Detroit's Elections Abner W. Berry . .
P.C.=People's Councilman Joseph Foster . .
I Choose Quill Lewis Merrill . . . . . .
Open Letter to Warner Bros. Artie Shaw . .
Gropper's Cartoon . . . . . .
The Lowdown on Higher Wages Economist .
What Psychoanalysis Can Do J. B. Furst . .
Military Training—For What? The Editors .
Editorial Comment . . . . . .
Why the French C.P. Won Yves Moreau . .
Readers' Forum . . . . . .
The Jewish Writer Karl Shapiro, Nathan Ausube and Isidor Schneider . . . . . .
Book Reviews: Smoldering Freedom, by Isabel de Palencia: Alvah Bessie; Not In Our Stars, by Josiah E. Greene: Ben Field; More Than an Academic Question, by Franz Schneider: Naomi E Willett; Labor Fact Book No. 7, by Labor Research Association: George Squier; This Is Where I Came In, by Robert J. Casey: Bill Aalto; A Cit for Lincoln, by John Tunis: Mack Ennius; Sergeant S. Prentiss, by Dallas C. Dickey: Herbert Apthek
Irwin Shaw's "The Assassin," reviewed by Ma Wayne . . . . . .
Whose Bad Taste? Joseph Foster . . .

Two weeks' notice is requested for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than t Office will give the best results. Vol. LVII, No. 6. Published by THE NEW MASSES, INC., 1(Ninth Street, New York 3, N. Y. Copyright 1945. THE NEW MASSES, INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Washington Office, 954 National Press Bldg. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without per Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mex months $2.75; three months $1.50. Foreign, $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months, $1. Canada $6.00 a year, $3.50 for six months, U. S. money; single copies in Canada 20c Canadian NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be acco by stamped, addressed envelope.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES
VOL. LVII NOVEMBER 6, 1943 NO. 6

ATOM SPLITTERS IN THE SENATE

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Miss Gardner wrote her article before Senator McMahon was appointed to head the Senate Committee on Atomic Energy. While Mr. McMahon is a good choice most of the other committee members can only be described as reactionaries bent on monopolizing the findings of the physicists with all the resultant harm it will do to our relations abroad. In addition to Senators Russell and Johnson, whom Miss Gardner discusses below, the committee includes Senators Tom Connally, Harry F. Byrd, Millard E. Tydings, Arthur H. Vandenberg, Eugene D. Millikin, Warren R. Austin, Bourke B. Hickenlooper and Thomas C. Hart.—The Editors.

Washington.

As THIS was written, a hot behind-the-scenes fight was going on in the Senate for the chairmanship of the committee which various Senators agree will be the most important in its history, a committee which will conduct hearings and investigations and recommend legislation on the control and development of atomic energy. On the surface the fight was between Sen. Brien McMahon, author of the resolution creating the committee, and Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, acting chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. But there soon developed a move on the part of the reactionary Southerners to name Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia as chairman.

Senator McMahon, a Democrat from Connecticut, is a freshman, but as author of the resolution he is, according to tradition, in line to head the committee. Of the past seventeen special committees set up, all were headed by the author of the resolution.

But the Congress which allowed Rep. E. E. Cox to head the committee investigating the Federal Communications Commission, although FCC had turned over to the Dept. of Justice evidence on which it hoped—in vain—that the Department would act to indict Cox, was seething at the thought that a Senator with a generally fairly progressive foreign policy record might head the atomic committee.

Senator Russell's secretary, who in his delicate way insisted to me that "the Senator is very loath to accept but a lot of pressure is being put on him to take it," said he knew exactly what the Senator thought about whether the "secret" of the atomic bomb should be locked up or shared with the world. But he could not say, as the Senator "has been rather loath to say until he had to—that is his general policy about anything." The Senator, he went on, was on five standing committees and chairman of one, the Immigration Committee. And he was busy on the Committee on the Reorganization of Congress.

Senator Johnson, on the other hand, didn't mind talking. He talked to me volubly—if not with great clarity. After expressing several viewpoints as his own, he finally said, "We're all sort of groping." A modest enough statement, but one which doubtless would have been received with more of a comfortable feeling on the part of your correspondent if the Senator's record did not reek in the past with isolationism.

"I haven't got my mind fully made up," said this Senator, who is one of the authors of the May-Johnson bill. But the scientists who worked on the atomic bomb have and they have finally made their voices heard despite the War Department's effort to stifle them. They have formed associations to provide protection for individuals being trailed by the FBI and otherwise intimidated. At that, one group of scientists sent representatives here to testify before the House Military Affairs Committee, and after cooling their heels the scientists departed with some bitter words about Congressmen who refused to hear what the men who worked on the bomb had to say. The Johnson-May bill would put all control over materials, processes and manufacture of bombs, and all future research and development, in the hands of a commission. It is a War Department bill and the War Department would dominate the commission, with severe penalties provided for anyone who violated commission rulings.

Leon Miller.

"I don't attach so much importance to the secrecy, because I think the secret can be discovered," Senator Johnson said at first. But then he went on to say that he wanted to know whether the formulae now developed could be used in the peaceful development of power. When he was persuaded that Prof. H. D. Smyth of Princeton, whose fascinating report on the development of the bomb now is in book form, made it clear that such peaceful development lay in further research, and that scientists were not agreed on how long it would take, Senator Johnson said:

"I think it would be a terrible thing to keep mankind from the benefits of the peaceful use of atomic energy. But as to the military end of it, I'm not so keen on distributing the secret of that around. I think I'm very much opposed to it. I think it should be pretty closely controlled."

"And what do you think of the position of Sen. (J. William) Fulbright," I asked, "who says that those who advocate locking of the 'secret' of the bomb are reverting to our old isolationism?"

"I doubt whether 'isolationism' is the right term," he said promptly, "but they're like an ostrich, hiding their head in the sand."

But this time I was completely confused. "But isn't that what you're doing?" I said in my bewilderment.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Well, I doubt that we can lock it up," he said. "But I don't think we ought to throw the door wide open and publish for everyone to see just how we made our bombs. I don't think we ought to go to either extreme."

IT SEEMED very much like the Senator in his effort to please all constituents was trying to be all things to all men—evoking a picture of the US being coy about the bomb, not locking it up, but not telling all, with a United Nations Organization having a similar policy—sending inspectors to peek here and peek there, in one country and another, and allowing, oh, just a few bombs to be made in one country or another.

He thought the May-Johnson bill gave too much power to one commission. Congress shouldn't relinquish it. True, it was his bill—well, he chuckled, no bill ever came out like it went in.

At least he seemed clear on one point—he thought the House committee's hush-hush policy in hearings "very unfortunate," and he wanted to hear ny from "scientists, industrialists, en." And some of the common too, I suggested? Oh, dear me, yes. I'm too much for democracy to want anything else," he said. I mentioned that it was too bad the May-Johnson bill didn't contain the Kilgore-Johnson-Pepper science bill's provisions guarding against monopolies gaining control over processes for peaceful development of atomic power and locking them up so that the public would never know they'd been discovered. "Oh, I'm definitely against someone who owns billions of tons of coal or billions of barrels of oil locking up such discoveries and forgetting them," he said.

"I have heard at least one Senator say he didn't even want to hear this subject discussed, didn't want anyone to mention it," said Senator Johnson. "He was afraid the enemy might make use of it." But he, he wanted "the world to discuss it," so that the horrors of war would be brought home to the enemy, "if we have any enemies." I think that Senator Johnson thought he was being very liberal in saying "if we have any enemies." These Senators in their public discussions, let alone their cloakroom talk, commonly allude to the Soviet Union as the only nation they fear. They seem to have forgotten the existence of Germany and Japan for the most part—or, like one group of Congressmen touring Europe, the Colmer committee, think of Germany only in terms of rebuilding her economy, which is what that committee seriously recommended on its return.

I hope Senator Johnson reads carefully one of the letters on his desk. Not many letters on the subject of the atomic bomb are coming in, both the Kilgore War Mobilization subcommittee staff and the offices of Senator Johnson and Senator Fulbright report. But I read some of those received by Senators Johnson and Fulbright. One from a Canon City, Colo., man was painfully clear. He said:

"1. It is absolutely impossible to keep it a secret.

"2. Its use can only be effectively controlled by a unified effort of the nations of the world.

". . . The atomic bomb is a *world* problem. . . . It is *not* a local problem for solution, neither is it a national problem, as such, but is purely an *international* problem.

"It is sure to outgrow all local and national efforts of control. . . . It is a most solemn question, and should not be railroaded through Congress. . . . It is the most gigantic problem of the present century. . . ."

He declared it "the height of folly for our Army or Navy to spend our millions in further experimentation in defense against the atomic bomb of other nations."

He was no scientist, but an ordinary sincere citizen, and "a referendum of the American people will bear me out" in his views, he declared.

SENATOR FULBRIGHT, who has played an important role in the Senate Commerce and Military Affairs subcommittees' hearing on the Kilgore, Magnuson and related science bills, has received letters from various parts of the country as well as his home state of Arkansas.

One of the Oak Ridge, Tenn., scientists wrote congratulating him on his position. "You have shown highly commendable foresight and courage in taking a public stand in favor of internationalizing atomic energy," he wrote.

"Elimination of international fear and suspicion is the only untried course open to universally desired peace." He suggested the pooling of ideas on international controls such as Senator Fulbright has advocated, and formal submission of them to the various scientists.

From Virginia one man wrote Senator Fulbright saying, "A war has just been completed which has cost unknown millions of lives and a great many billions of dollars. Despite this complete loss this country is now turning back toward isolation. I am referring to our announced policy to keep the secrets of the atomic bomb." He went on to protest that we had no monopoly on raw materials, manpower or brains, that it would be better for us to seek the friendship of Russia, China and other nations. He proposed not only the international exchange of all scientific information on atomic energy through the United Nations Organization, but the lending to Russia and China of the billions they need to restore their war-torn economies, and the elimination of trade barriers.

SENATOR FULBRIGHT in his New York speech described a certain type of thought by persons who say the bomb is a secret we must keep for our protection and the peace of the world. "We paid for it; we found it; why shouldn't we keep it? And besides we are good people; we should be trusted for the good of mankind." This is pretty close to the President's "Golden Rule" business, his simple little talk in which he said we would of course keep the secret of the bomb because we didn't want it misused—his homey little talk which struck terror in the hearts of the more far-sighted Senators. But Senator Fulbright's description went on: "These ideas, which you may think superficial and worthy of little notice, are nevertheless held by many people, some with considerable influence, and cannot be dismissed as being of little consequence. Such views are the natural reactions of unsophisticated people; they are easily understood, they are simple, they are popular and they are in accord with our traditional isolationism. They require no mental effort and no break with the past. They give one a feeling of security. It is the same basic philosophy that led us to believe that we were so self-sufficient that we could live apart from the world, that we, all by ourselves, had created a rich, comfortable life and should not be disturbed in our enjoyment of it by concern over the troubles of other peoples in China, Spain, Ethiopia or Poland." Even if we had found the bomb by our efforts alone, he asked, "Is it possible that we regard this cosmic discovery as a mere chattel for our personal use? To those good citizens who think the peoples of the world should trust us to use the bomb to protect them, I can only say that I am sure those other peoples disagree. It is already clear that the Russians have some doubts about the stability and security of such a world."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND DETROIT'S ELECTIONS

By ABNER W. BERRY

Detroit

DETROIT is in the home stretch of what appears to be one of the closest electoral battles in many years. Mayor Edward Jeffries, son of a distinguished liberal who has proved false to his father's political faith, is desperately trying to stem the progressive tide behind Richard Frankensteen, big, youthful vice president of the United Automobile Workers-CIO. Frankensteen led Jeffries in the primaries, but as the experience of 1943 proved, it is possible for the situation to be reversed on election day.

Outstanding feature of the campaign is that for the first time organized labor has given political leadership to the whole democratic camp, welding it into an organized coalition, and leading it into battle against the entrenched Republican reactionaries. The once powerful Democratic Party here is a segment of the coalition. I say "segment" because the Democrats relate to the coalition as a slice relates to an orange. Labor, large sections of the middle class, the Democrats and the Negro people are fighting this battle together.

Breadth and the straining for even more breadth, however, can become a danger, as Frankensteen learned. In trying to represent *all* of the people of Detroit he went to the extreme at one point in his campaign of promising tax leniency to the corporations. I was reminded of an incident in Harlem right after the 1935 outbreaks when a number of us met in the home of the Rev. A. Clayton Powell to discuss the next steps to normalcy. In the midst of the meeting the doorbell rang and a police lieutenant was ushered in. A silence fell over the room which was broken by James W. Ford, Negro Communist, who protested: "This united front is getting too broad!" There was a feeling among many of Frankensteen's supporters here that that was the case in his campaign. He got the point. And in recent days there has been a noticeable pick-up in the strength and the direction of his swing.

Aside from the general issues nationally and internationally facing the people here (issues which get far too little attention), the real "hot potato" is housing. Behind the housing issue is the question of what to do with the swollen Negro population. For without providing housing for the Negroes there will be no housing for *anyone* in the city. Jeffries has taken the offensive on this issue by stating flatly he stands for freezing the "racial characteristic of the neighborhoods." He has taunted Frankensteen to come out for "bi-racial housing." This is the smoke screen behind which the wily Jeffries proceeds to peck at the unity of the coalition along racial lines. And behind him, in the scheme to maintain the present overcrowded conditions in white as well as Negro neighborhoods, are the real estate interests and the banks which have enjoyed rich rent and mortgage pickings for years. This is at the bottom of the socalled "race issue" which seems to be such a hardy perennial here.

In New York thousands of Ben Davis' admirers are ringing doorbells to guarantee his reelection to City Council. More are needed. We urge our Manhattan readers to do their bit—every vote counts!

The peculiarity of the Negro question in Detroit is that all civic improvements hinge on what is done to house the Negro population. Along the waterfront, the development of which is a big issue here, and as far north as Gratiot Street, is a triangle of land bearing the highest assessed value in Detroit. This is the worst slum area in the country. Proposal after proposal to condemn the shacks now squatting there have been made, only to come up against the unanswered question of: "*What are we going to do with the Negroes living there without breaking the principle of retaining the 'racial characteristics of neighborhoods?'*" And so with enlarging the airport and with the proposed Medical Center. It is a vicious circle with the landed boys having all of the fun. Everyone here is aware of the issue, but to those on top in politics the attitude is that "It's dynamite." So no one touches it. That is, not openly and in public. But it *is* discussed and it *is* an issue that is very much alive. And there is no doubt that a victorious coalition candidate will do something about it.

Discussion of issues, however, would be academic without organization. Mayor Jeffries has squealed many times about the "efficiency" of his opponents, which in itself is a tribute to the organizational job done. "The National PAC is the smoothest working political machine that ever hit this town or any other town," he told a luncheon rally recently. "They have unlimited money and have imported a small army of professional organizers. They are out ringing doorbells and they are going to get out the vote. They are going to take over this town unless the great unorganized majority has the interest to go to the polls."

Jeffries spoke largely the truth. However, what he terms a foreign invasion is really the majority, taking a lead from labor, organizing to control its city government. In every congressional district there is a PAC coordinator. This coordinator, in turn,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

controls a precinct organization. And in every precinct there is a head and a crew of workers. There has grown up in this campaign a political organization of a new type. It is a people's organization and no matter what the candidates may say in their public speeches the people are voting for the issues talked over at front doors and in the local PAC headquarters.

THE results of the organization's work are already shown in the registration just completed. Over 802,000 —a record for a city election here— came out. This is seen as a definite advantage to the Frankensteen followers.

Sparkplug of the Frankensteen forces among the Negroes is the Reverend Charles A. Hill, Negro candidate for Councilman. The dynamic clergyman, with a high, balding brow and copper skin, has taken his speeches from the church rostrum to the people. In chatting with him about the attitude of the Negroes I got one answer: "The Negroes are tired of the race-baiting that Jeffries has encouraged for years. want him out, and they think eensteen is the right man to re- him."

I saw Frankensteen quite by accident. While in the office of another official someone yelled through the door: "The Mayor wants to see you!" My host excused himself with, "Well, I guess that's one call I'd better heed."

I ambled into the outer office of "The Mayor" and was getting a few handouts and bits of information from his press representative, George Miller, when the door to the inner office opened and Frankensteen bounded out.

"Look at this!" he yelled to a secretary. "This guy Jeffries says that we have an efficient machine. Well, that's more than I can say for Jeffries."

He then went on to dictate a section of a speech he was to make that night utilizing the information just culled from the press. As he turned to go into his office he saw me and rushed over to shake hands and introduce himself.

Going into his office, Frankensteen clapped his hands together small boy fashion and said to his press man: "Do you know, George, that Jeffries' opening speech was made in an undertaker's establishment? That's fine, huh? I think I should mention that in one of my speeches. An undertaker's establishment. Yes, I'll mention that and say, 'Jeffries' opening speech in an undertaker's establishment might have been an assurance for a resting place for the political corpse on November 6.' That's it! And it's true. We'll bury him!"

I won't make any guesses about the outcome of the election. A poll was recently taken here by a group which came from Yale. It showed that forty-nine percent of the population as a whole were for Jeffries; in the Negro communities Jeffries had twenty-four percent. Most Frankensteen campaign workers disagree, believing that the poll exaggerated Jeffries' strength. There is no doubt that the coalition behind Frankensteen has the reactionaries worried. What they may be planning for the last days of the campaign no one can tell. For a while the auto companies hoped that by provoking a sharp clash over the UAW's wage demands they would frighten middle-class voters into supporting Jeffries. At the outset over-flamboyant gestures on the part of certain union officials helped this strategy win some initial success. However, the sober, constructive fashion in which the union leadership has handled the struggle with the companies in recent weeks has had its counter-effect. The political coalition has also withstood Red-baiting and racist attacks and innuendoes.

This is more than an election campaign—it is a battle of the people for their city, for its potential beauty, its culture, its well-being, its growth. It is the battle for continuing the spread of democracy which began roughly with the rise of the CIO. The scores of amateur politicians—people's politicians—trained in this campaign will know how to make any administration hew close to the line. In addition to their unions, the people have forged another weapon—political organization. Whatever the outcome on November 6, this is a tangible gain for democracy.

P.C. = PEOPLE'S COUNCILMAN

By JOSEPH FOSTER

HIS initials, P.C., stand not only for his name but for People's Councilman as well. A coincidence, you may say, but no happier accident has ever occurred. For Pete is a rare phenomenon in American life; he is regarded with equal affection by the most diverse types of citizens—the Negroes of the Bedford section (Brooklyn's Little Harlem), the Jews of Brownsville, the prosperous homeowners of Flatbush. Walk through any section of America's most publicized borough, from Sandy Hook to Coney Island, by the side of this squarely built Italian-American, and the "hyah Pete," that salutes him continuously from passers-by will give you a real insight into the meaning of that term "People's Councilman."

Since 1937 he has stood before the voters of Brooklyn as a councilmanic candidate. In 1941 he was the last of the nine Councilmen from Brooklyn to gain office. In 1943 his first-choice votes were the highest in the *entire city*. His gain in popularity was such that his political career can stand as a primer in people's movements.

How account for it? The Communist Party program explains it in part, of course, but it doesn't explain it entirely. His living translation of the program is a big part of the answer.

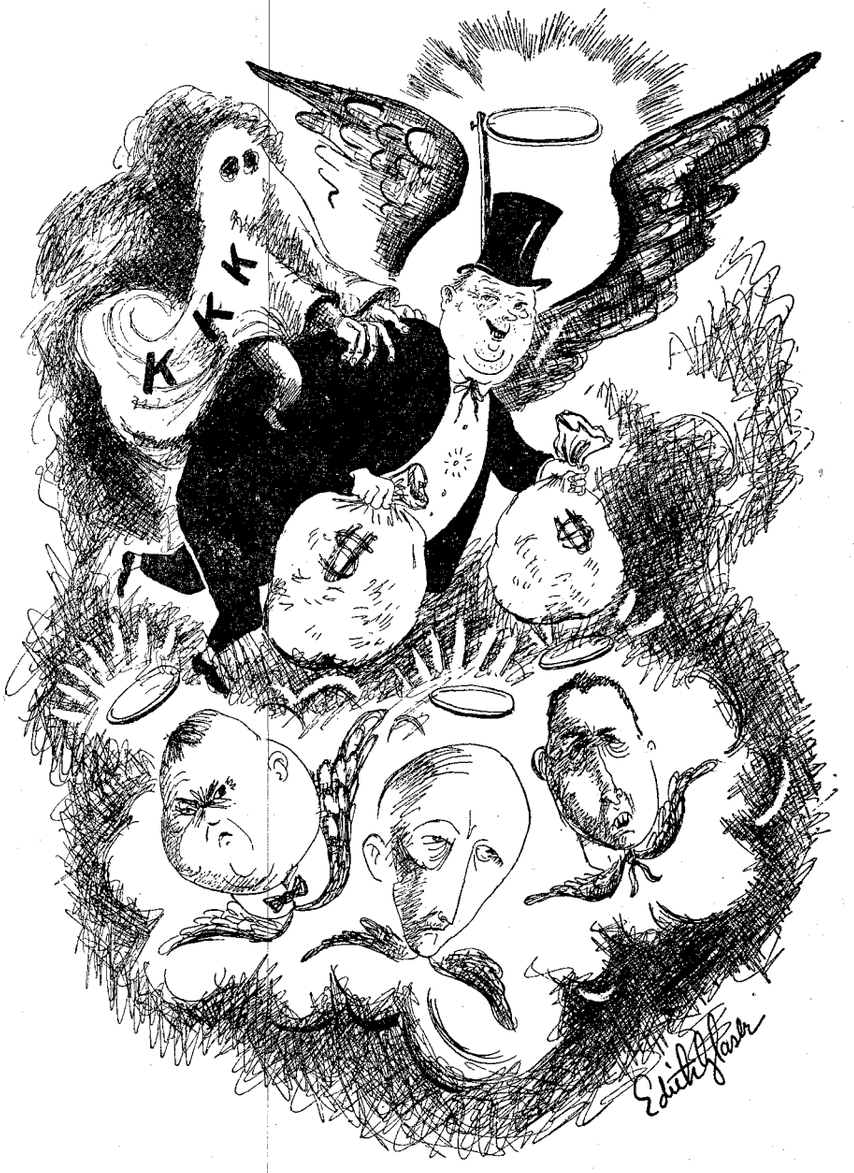
Consider his working day. sixteen hours of unrelenting pressure. In the last two years he has attended over 350 meetings, which means one every other day, counting Sunday and holidays. This figure does not include election rallies or his Party meetings. He calls conferences on housing, child care, parent-teacher problems, interracial issues. He is part of the Local Improvement Board that passes on paving and sewage problems; he goes to his councilmanic sessions, travels to Albany on numerous hearings, writes a weekly column for the *Worker*, serves as head of the Kings County Communist Party, corresponds personally with some thirty servicemen, and sees a stream of people who come to his office for redress of one grievance or another.

These people insist on seeing Pete himself, even though any of his staff can handle routine complaints. But they get reassurance from the personal contact, and this attitude gives you an inkling as to the kind of man he is. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people who come are of all kinds—Communists, Republicans, Democrats—those who voted for him and those who didn't. Word gets around that Pete is the man who can help you. Even Frank Davis, the Hollywood writer, a total stranger to Pete, assigned to do a government film on the black market, came to talk it over before going to work. But more typical are the wives and mothers of servicemen who want help on the apartment problem, veterans who want jobs, others whose allotment pay is held up. Once Pete even had a delegation of kids who wanted real baskets for their playground basketball court. Another time a vet wanted to marry a WAC who had come into the city after five o'clock and had to leave before morning. He wanted Pete to get him a license and a magistrate. There was also the sailor whose wife wanted a divorce (imagine a voter going to a Tammany hack with that kind of personal problem). Then there was the young Negro boy who was fleeced by a shyster in a shady court case and whose whole family came down for help. These many, many people represent a cross-section of urban America and its problems, and they flock to Pete Cacchione not only because he gets results, but because they trust him.

His Jewish voters say that he has *tahm*, a word that means just the right flavor; a Negro supporter said he was solid Jackson; a veteran described him as a right Joe. All these phrases reduce themselves to one thing: the man you can trust as you would trust yourself in a situation that affected your very existence. Unless you understand this personal quality, you will never really understand his popularity or why he crusades on ordinary issues with such extraordinary vehemence.



Angel and Cherubs: composition by Edith Glaser. (Apologies to da Vinci.)

I DROPPED into his office to have a talk with him. Leah Wechsler, his hard-working secretary, told me he was at home, taking a much needed rest. Doctor's orders. "How long," she asked rhetorically, "can a man go on with only five hours sleep a day, year in year out?" Could I go and see him? Only if I promised to take no more than one hour of his time. I promised.

Pete himself answered the bell. He said something about the phone as his chunky, pajama-covered form disappeared rapidly from view. I found him at the edge of his bed talking earnestly into the phone. "We've got to pay more attention to local issues. I know Communists campaign against discrimination, but housing and heat and the transit problem can't be neglected." After more of this he hung up and got between the covers. "I get these calls all the time. Voters asking me to concentrate on this or that. I'm glad to hear from them, I get some good ideas that way."

I inquired about his health.

"The only thing wrong with me is that I forget I am no longer twenty-five. The doctor says if I remember that, I'll be all right." (He is forty-eight.)

He gathered up some letters that were lying on the bed. "From some old friends of mine," he explained, "from Vancouver, Seattle, Washington, all over the place. I knew them in the old days of the unemployment struggle. "This one," he held up one of the letters, "is from a guy who started with me in the old Gold Dust Lodge." When I expressed ignorance about the place, he elaborated. "The Gold Dust Lodge was a high class flop-house, run by the Salvation Army and supported by the city and private donations. It didn't cost the Savation Army a thin dime, but how they used to starve the men! That started my first action. I was part of a grievance committee, but before we could get a hearing, we all got tossed out of the place. Boy, I'd like to be in a position to go to work on the Salvation Army. Started with a drum and a speech and General Booth, its founder, ended up with millions.

"While I was still at the lodge, I got interested in the Unemployment

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Councils, and when I began to understand what made the depression, I became more and more involved. I marched to Washington and to Albany. When you demonstrate for jobs, or when you demonstrate in front of the Consular offices of foreign governments for what they are doing to their people, you get a solid idea of what the issues are all about. I'd like to see certain councilmen, who claim to represent the people's interest, get into a demonstration or a picket line. Then I'd believe they knew what they were talking about."

Pete first started working when he was a kid going to school. He sold papers and worked as a delivery boy in the grocery stores of Sayre, Penn. where his family had moved when he was about six. When he finished high school, he had to go to work in earnest. He enumerates the various places he worked: the American Carbide Company, the American Car and Foundry, Bethlehem Steel, Sun Shipbuilding Company. He was also a brakeman, a truck driver and an insurance salesman.

"I still go back to Sayre every [illegible]istmas," he says, "where my [illegible]ner, brother and sisters still live. [illegible] papers out there call me the Councilman from Sayre. Most of them vote Republican, but a lot of the townspeople tell me that if they lived in New York, they'd vote for me." He smiles at the last and then gets serious. "At that, I wish some of them had moved to town. I could use their votes."

Was he worried about the coming election? "Well, it could look better. A lot of people are taking my reelection for granted. That's always bad. We should have eight councilmen from Brooklyn on the basis of the 750,000 registered voters, but you always lose about ten percent on invalid ballots. This year there are thirty-six candidates, including two ALP-Democratic Party nominees. Well, each of these thirty-some odd people all have friends. That means we have to get support from the former voters of Hart, Vogel, Sharkey, Di Giovanna, all the Democrats up for reelection. That means work. We can't take anything for granted."

As I listened to him discuss the elections and his experiences as a worker, I understood more clearly the reasons for that strong personal feeling that his supporters have for him. He comes out of their milieu, and shares their point of view. It is thus easy to understand why he fights so enthusiastically to eliminate the brackish, undrinkable Flatbush water, why he throws himself so completely into the effort to save the five-cent fare, why he works himself to exhaustion to improve the transit system, the highroad, the turnpike, the scenic travel road of the poor man, or why he shows such concern over undrained Coney Island Creek, health menace to the residents of that area. His rivals think that he raises these issues as a political game, but they don't begin to understand him. He battles to get rid of James L. Drew, the anti-Semitic cop, and May Quinn, the fascist school-teacher, because he doesn't want his boy to grow up in a community tainted with their principles, by which he means every boy and girl in every neighborhood of the country.

We were discussing these matters when his secretary dropped in at the house and reminded me that my hour was long since up. A moment later his barber, missing Pete's regular visit to his shop, came in to find out if there was anything wrong. When he caught the drift of our talk, he wanted to know why Pete didn't run for Congress. He turned to me. "With all the people who know him, he'd be a cinch." Pete smiled, but his secretary said, "Right now, our job is to get him back into the City Council."

Amen!

Voting in New York's Elections

As we go to press it seems virtually certain that Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, candidate of the Democratic and American Labor Parties, will be the next mayor of New York. What is not yet certain—and what is no less important than O'Dwyer's election—is the size of the vote he will receive on the American Labor Party line. And what is also not yet certain is the fate of the most progressive candidates for the City Council.

O'Dwyer and his running mates are the nominees of a labor-progressive coalition whose dynamic core consists of the ALP, the CIO unions and the Communist Party. The trend of the next city administration, as well as labor-progressive influence in the state and nation, will depend in large measure on the showing of the American Labor Party and the Communists on November 6. O'Dwyer may win and yet progress suffer a setback if the ALP vote is low and if the Communists fail to elect their candidates to the City Council.

New Masses therefore urges its New York readers to devote the next few days to assuring a progressive victory in the full sense. Our recommendations:

Vote Row C, the American Labor Party line, for mayor, comptroller, and president of the City Council.

For the City Council:

Manhattan: first choice, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist; second choice, Eugene Connolly, American Labor and Democratic. The CIO has also endorsed Councilmen Stanley Isaacs, Republican, and William A. Carroll, Democrat.

Brooklyn: first choice, Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Communist; second and third choices, Milton J. Goell and Bertram L. Baker, American Labor and Democratic. The CIO has also endorsed Councilman Joseph T. Sharkey, Democratic.

Bronx: first choice, Councilman Michael J. Quill, American Labor; second choice, Charles Rubinstein, American Labor.

Queens: first choice, Charles Belous, American Labor and Democratic; second choice, Edward Washington, independent. The CIO has also endorsed Councilman James A. Phillips, Democratic.

Richmond: first choice, Sidney Rose, American Labor.

For all other offices, vote for the candidates of the American Labor Party.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MATTER OF FACT . . . by LEWIS MERRILL

I CHOOSE QUILL

MICHAEL J. QUILL, New York City Councilman running for reelection in the Bronx on a program of keeping America at peace and at work, is carrying on a fight of central importance to the development of progressive government in the United States. His infectious humor, his fiery oratory, his vivid imagery, his fierce faith in the workers and the people, make him an ideal labor candidate. But he is that and much more too.

Over the years, in the AFL and out of it, he insisted that labor recognize political action as an indispensable weapon. Before there was a PAC, he proved through his own activities that political action was both practical and necessary. It's no accident that he is, today, the only top-flight labor leader to hold elective public office. He ran to prove a point. He keeps on running because there are more points to prove.

I know him less as a political figure than as a labor organizer. When in the AFL he was applying the basic elements of CIO's program in organizing the transit workers in New York City. He is a tenacious and indefatigable organizer. He makes his share of blunders as does every organizer, but unlike most he always learns from them. In typical Quill fashion he learns his lessons from the workers and with them. "The workers and the people" roll from his tongue, with its rich Irish brogue, in caressing familiarity. The phrase is hardly ever absent from his speech because the workers and the people are never absent from his thoughts. It's no accident that he is an honorary member of more labor unions than any man in the CIO.

I've known Mike for years. I have grown to know him in the course of many a long fight. When you get in trouble is when you get to really know a man, particularly when the tide of battle runs against you. And he's quite a guy!

He is without doubt one of the most liberal men in the world. If he is your friend, he is your friend all the way, when you are wrong as well as when you are right. He knows no in-between loyalties. Because forty years ago he was born in County Kerry, Ireland, and was involved to the hilt in the struggle for Irish freedom, he carries with him, wherever he goes, the cause of the Irish people. It undoubtedly has contributed to his vigorous fight for a correct foreign policy here in the United States which will promote peace and democracy.

Discrimination against minorities brings him to a quick heat. The fight against anti-Semitism and Negro discrimination finds in him its most responsive soldier. His own union, the Transport Workers Union of America, blazed the trail in the battle for job opportunities for Negroes. The National Negro Museum and Historical Foundation gave him its Award of Merit in recognition of his work. The people of the Bronx give him their own Award of Merit whenever he runs for office. The Jewish people in the Bronx look on him as one of their own. And they are not wrong. Their cause is his cause and his strength belongs to those who need it. He is very quick to give of himself whenever there is a need.

Some years ago, my union in Boston was in the middle of a Labor Board election. There was introduced at the last minute an effort to divide the workers on racial grounds. It was making headway among the Irish workers particularly. The organizer in charge of the campaign telephoned Quill, who hopped a plane to Boston and spoke to the Irish workers. He had never met the organizer but he was quick to recognize the need and as usual just as quick to act. That night he was back in New York to speak to another meeting and there I met him and he told me where he'd been!

He brings the same energy to every activity. When he runs for Councilman he doesn't run to get elected. He runs to promote a program. He doesn't go to the people at election time alone. He is working in the community every day in the week. Quill's Community Conferences are the bane of the old-line politicians. His program for reelection covers jobs and reconversion, consumer protection, veterans' protection, housing, health and welfare, transportation, equality and race harmony, education and child care, taxes, and city employes' security and compensation. "What's so unusual about that?" you say. "Other politicians also have good programs." The big difference is not only that Mike means it, but he means it every day. On every one of these questions he has a record of proven accomplishments. Quite a busy fellow, we can conclude. Even busier when you remember that leading a union is not exactly a part-time job. His union is strong and it's growing.

My enthusiasm for Mike as a politician, a trade unionist, and a friend does not, I believe, lead me to exaggerate the importance of his reelection. Though he is running in New York, his fight is a national one if only because he personifies to millions the ability of the vital forces of labor to intervene in politics and thus strengthen the cause of the entire people. An emphatic victory by Mike Quill will not only strengthen the national labor movement in all its purposes, it will help safeguard the ability of the people as a whole to move American domestic and foreign policy in a progressive direction.

Hirsch.

Mike Quill makes a wonderful City Councilman. But I wish he weren't running for the Council. I wish he were running for Congress.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OPEN LETTER TO WARNER BROS.

By ARTIE SHAW

Los Angeles.

DEAR SIRS: I had hoped, along with fellow-servicemen and people everywhere, for that matter, that I had seen enough slugging and shooting to last me for the rest of my life during the time I spent in the Pacific. I had hoped that when I came back I could take up where I left off in 1942—playing my clarinet, leading a band for the amusement of kids around the country. Of course—because of my Navy service—I realize that no American could isolate himself in his business or profession and forget the rest of the world. Nor can any of us accept American citizenship passively.

In this I was—and am—no different from you and millions of other Americans. You recognized that winning the war was your job and winning the peace and preserving democracy an even bigger job. In achieving these ends, you, the Warner Brothers, through your studios and other interests, played an important role. Before America entered the war your company dramatized the dangers of Nazism by producing *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*. Some of those who today pretend to be your friends were loudest in denouncing you at that time. When the Gerald Smiths and other bigots were terrorizing American citizens and American workers, your studio courageously exposed these enemies of America. Those who today slap you on the back are the very ones who tried to ban your picture *Black Legion* because that picture exposed the evils of mercenaries, of armed thugs in American life.

I cannot forget all that you have done in the cause of the American people. But today that admirable record of patriotic service is being threatened. Violence unheard of in the American industrial picture for many years has broken out in the very same dirty, contemptible un-American sniping which your films and political activities sought to defeat. Again we face the spectacle of Red-baiting, Jew-baiting, labor-baiting and Negro-baiting.

I, for one, do not believe that the damage that has been done is irreparable. If this strike is settled today then there is every chance that unity and peace can be restored, perhaps on a firmer basis than before. The energies, the money, the time now being expended can be turned to better uses. They can be turned to fighting our real and common enemy—the Gerald L. K. Smiths and the Silver Shirts—who are reaping a grim harvest from this present unrest.

I ASK you, Warner Brothers, to remember your past—to recall the ideals of Willkie and Roosevelt. A clear statement repudiating any association with those elements who attempt to use your good name for the evil purposes of disruption, an invitation to the strikers—who have won an NLRB decision—to return to work along with these unions and workers who have respected the picket lines, will restore harmony. Their real business, like yours, is to keep your studio and all other studios open—to make pictures.

Those who today cry "Red" cried "Red" in 1936 and 1938. You, the Warner Brothers, were called Reds, Jewish Communists. And again when you showed your honesty of purpose in making *Mission to Moscow* the same cry was hurled at you. During the war your studio took and held the leadership in paying tribute to our armed forces and to the tremendous contributions made by American labor during this war. Pictures such as *Action in the North Atlantic*, *Destination Tokyo* are still remembered. And more recently, *Pride of the Marines*—a picture that articulates the hopes and aspirations of every serviceman and of all Americans who believe in a United States free from race prejudice and discrimination. Some of those who today spread themselves in your praise are the very ones who denounced you for using the screen for propaganda purposes, as they called it.

Nor can I forget the part you played in the election of Roosevelt and Truman. I recall in particular the night when you, Jack Warner, presided at a Democratic rally at the Ambassador Hotel. It was just a year ago when that audience, at your request, stood in memory of that great American Wendell Willkie. The speaker of the evening, Secretary Ickes, warned us of the march of the Trojan Horse; of the men who represent the same anti-American forces who are operating today—the same forces who for many years attacked Warner Brothers and all other honest, liberal spokesmen.

Peace as well as war requires sacrifices and compromises. Sometimes these sacrifices are more painful and more involved than the simple business of firing a gun at a Japanese or a Nazi. But sacrifice is worthwhile if the end objective is worthwhile.

It is inconceivable that you, Warner Brothers, should be considered enemies of labor. It is really inconceivable that you should consider labor your enemy. What is true is that you and labor—along with all men and women of good will—have a common enemy, fascism. Because home-grown fascism is more imminent than most people seem to realize, I plead for a quick settlement of this strike. The ideals of Roosevelt and Willkie can be trampled in the mud unless you, along with all decent Americans, come forward now and reaffirm, through action, your loyalty to our dead leaders and soldiers and to a living United States of America.

Respectfully yours,

ARTIE SHAW.

Artie Shaw is a prominent bandleader who is held in esteem by millions of young Americans. We publish his views because we feel they represent the attitude of many, and because they probe beneath the specific strike itself to fundamental questions. Since this letter was put in type, reports indicate that a truce has been declared pending the settlement of the issues in the strike.

And as we go to press newspapers carry a dispatch from Hollywood that Herbert Sorrell, leader of the movie studio strikers, told police an attempt had been made to assassinate him. He believed he recognized his assailants as goons he had seen around the picket line during the thirty-three week

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOWDOWN ON HIGHER WAGES

By ECONOMIST

THE United States Steel Corporation has turned down the demands of the CIO steel union for wage increases required to make good the thirty percent slash in take-home pay that workers have suffered since V-E Day. Big Steel claimed "we have not sufficient income at present ceiling prices to enable us to pay increased wages to steel workers." General Motors will soon say the same thing, using other words. Big business in general has maintained that it cannot give wage increases unless inflationary price rises are granted.

What are the facts? The facts show that they can grant wage increases of at least thirty percent and still make record-breaking peacetime profits. Let's look at the economic record.

During five war years, 1940-1945, American corporations made profits after taxes of $52,000,000,000, according to the Department of Commerce. Of this staggering amount, they paid out $25,900,000,000 to their stockholders (sixty percent of corporate stocks are owned by less than one percent of stockholders). And they kept $26,100,000,000 of undistributed profits.

Put another way, the average annual profits after taxes were $8,700,000,000, compared with average profits after taxes of $3,300,000,000 in 1936-1939. Wartime corporate profits after taxes, therefore, rose by more than 160 percent.

Since V-J Day, production has been falling and unemployment has been rising. But corporate profits have remained pretty close to their wartime peak. The Department of Commerce reports that profits after taxes for the full year 1945 will be $9,300,000,000, compared to the all-time high of $9,900,000,000 in 1944.

These figures show that the corporations will start 1946 with accumulated undistributed profits of over $26,000,000,000. That's only the beginning of the profit story. The Securities and Exchange Commission reports that the net liquid assets of all American corporations were $46,900,000,000 on March 31 of this year. They will probably top $50,000,000,000 by the end of 1945. These liquid reserves will have increased by over $25,500,000,000 since 1939.

But that's not all. Congress through the Tax Adjustment Act of 1945 made available over $5,500,000,000 in cash refunds to the corporations. This $5,500,000,000 cash kickback will more than cover the costs of reconversion which, according to Secretary of the Treasury Fred M. Vinson are expected to be no more than $3,000,000,000.

There's still more to the profit story. Thanks to Senator Walter F. George, the Coca Cola tax expert, and Congress, big business can fall back on the carry-back provisions of the wartime tax laws. These provisions guarantee them profits in the first two reconversion and post-war years that are equal to or greater than their average peacetime profits. The $30,000,000,000 in taxes the corporations paid into the Treasury during 1944 and 1945 represent a huge pool of reserves that they can tap whenever their profits fall below their prewar level.

That's the biggest strikebreaking fund in American history. Corporations can lock out their workers and then receive cash from the Treasury to pay their regular dividends and increase their undistributed profits. For example, if the steel industry does not earn a dollar of profits in 1946, it can collect $149,000,000 from the Treasury, or twenty-nine percent more than the profits it averaged before the war.

And now for the climax of the profit story. Profits in 1946 will be higher than peak wartime profits. *Business Week*, a short time ago, put the profit take after taxes for next year at over $10,000,000,000. Treasury experts have figured that profits after taxes next year will be over $11,000,000,000. CIO economists state that profits after taxes next year will be about $12,000,000,000. All these profit projections are based on a volume of national product in 1946 that will be twenty percent lower than in 1944.

The economic record, therefore, shows that the big boys have accumulated enough wartime profits to more than pay for a thirty percent wage increase for all workers. For example, the CIO steel union has demonstrated that the steel industry made over $2,000,000,000 in open and concealed profits during the war. Its total financial resources increased by over $1,000,000,000 after payment of huge dividends. The steel workers' demand for two dollars a day more would cost the industry $250,000,000 a year, or only one-fourth of its wartime fat.

The facts further show that the wage increases demanded by the workers need not come out of the vast wartime stockpile of profits. Big business can pay very much higher wages and still make peacetime profits that are more than twice as big as prewar profits. To begin with, the elimination of overtime and the downgrading of workers to lower paying jobs will reduce labor costs by about ten percent. In addition, the repeal of the excess profits tax provides the corporations with a windfall that can cover another ten percent increase in wages. The wartime increase in productivity, which the War Production Board reported was twenty-five percent, will in all probability cover another ten percent wage increase.

IN OTHER words, industry can absorb a thirty percent wage increase and make profits that are much greater than prewar profits. This analysis is supported by findings of economists in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. They report that wage increases averaging twenty-four percent would be offset by the dropping of overtime, the downgrading of wages, the elimination of the excess profits tax and large increases in labor productivity.

However, the capitalists won't settle for this unprecedented peacetime profit take. They want inflationary price rises that will bring them three and four times the amount they pay out in wage increases. The steel industry illustrates their unashamed greed.

The wage increase of two dollars a day demanded by the steel workers amounts to about $250,000,000 a year. The elimination of overtime and downgrading has cut the industry's labor costs by over $125,000,000. The abolition of the excess profits tax will make an additional $225,000,000 available to the steel industry in 1946. It can thus pay the steel workers' wage demand and increase its profits by about $100,000,000 next year. But the industry threatens a sitdown strike against reconversion and a lockout of the workers unless prices are rated six or seven dollars a ton. A price rise of this magnitude would bring the industry more than $500,000,000 in additional profits. It would also set off a wave of inflationary price increases that might blow up the economy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT PSYCHOANALYSIS CAN DO

By J. B. FURST

The following article, the first half of which appeared in last week's NEW MASSES, *was written by Dr. Furst in reply to Dr. Joseph Wortis' two articles (October 2 and 9) on trends in psychoanalysis.* NEW MASSES *invites its readers to join in the discussion.*

THERE are a number of therapeutic techniques for dealing with emotional conflicts on the necessary psychological level. They are all related, and the most intensive are the various forms of psychoanalysis. What actually distinguishes psychoanalysis from other psychotherapies are the specialized analytic techniques for overcoming resistances to change.

Psychoanalysis was originally evolved by Freud out of studies in the use of hypnosis to cure neurotic patients. It consists of a special method of treatment based on a complex theory of personality structure. Freud actually found workable answers to many of the baffling problems of psychological illnesses. He and others rapidly evolved his theories into a more or less consistent system of psychoanalysis which is still being practiced today by the "orthodox" Freudians.

Dr. Wortis has discussed some of the errors of Freudianism. The men most concerned with these errors have been not Marxists but the psychoanalysts themselves. Wrestling with them in their daily practice they have constantly formulated new theories. Some (Jung, *et al.*) are off the main line of development and have ended in blind alleys. Others (Abraham, W. Reich, Adler, Ferenczi) have culminated in modern psychoanalysis as practiced by Horney, Robbins, Marmor, Clara Thompson, Silverberg, and many others. (Fromm's work seems very progressive, but retains a great deal of the biological thinking and idealist errors of straight Freudianism).

Psychoanalysis has had such a development that today it is no more a homogeneous trend than philosophy or religion. All philosophers are not Kantians because Kant was a philosopher. All psychoanalysts are not Freudians because Freud evolved psychoanalysis. The Freudians themselves have officially recognized this. They have literally and formally excommunicated the modern psychoanalysts, who are not allowed to teach in Freudian training schools, are not sent patients, and are not even considered psychoanalysts.

A description of modern psychoanalysis is found in the works of Karen Horney. A reading of her *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* will show what giant strides have been taken away from Freudianism. Analysis of the patient's difficulties is brought from the past into the present; man's personality is regarded as a reflection of his society (*Neurotic Personality of Our Time*); the concepts of libido, instincts and overemphasis on sexuality have been done away with, and the concept of unconscious mental activity has been narrowed down and is changing radically. The analysis is an active process of self-change on the part of the patient, who is guided by his analyst. The analysis itself is an active relationship carried out by both patient and analyst. The patient must have a certain understanding of the world around him if he is to understand himself. Marked emphasis is placed on developing the positive elements of the patient's character, etc. Modern psychoanalysis is not yet fully developed, and the new changes have not yet all been described in its literature, but a complete change from orthodox Freudianism has already occurred and is rapidly leading to further development.

Edith Miller.

The literature on psychoanalysis is appalling (nearly 10,000 titles); the special terminology is extensive, obscure and confusing; psychoanalysis is difficult to understand without clinical work or direct personal experience with it. The lay individual is often confused by various schools of theory, both living and dead. Psychoanalysis has been changing very rapidly, particularly in the last seven years. These changes are discussed in technical articles in obscure journals, in a few books, or have only been described by word of mouth.

Interpretations and explanations of psychoanalysis must be made, and we must evaluate Dr. Wortis' article in the light of this necessity. There are many praiseworthy formulations in his paper, and had he limited himself to criticizing the errors of Freudianism one could agree with much that he says. However, his discussion of psychoanalysis is developed in such a manner that the further implications are enormous and require careful consideration.

One implication is already apparent: although Dr. Wortis is discussing psychoanalysis, he shares a certain tendency among progressives to minimize or disregard *all* psychology. Although he specifically mentions a psychological level of integration, *in practice* he is so concerned with physiology and social relations that psychology disappears. He confirms this by repeated statements that psychoanalysis and psychotherapy are only for the "special few" and will be replaced by activity and physiological treatments.

Our previous discussion has already demonstrated the secondary nature of physiological disturbances to neurotic conflicts. Dr. Wortis' substitution of physiology for psychology further leads him to say, "Disturbances in thought and behavior are often due to bad health, fatigue, tension and overwork."

Mental illnesses due to bad health are well known. "Mental disturbances due to, or associated with, physical disorders" is a standard classification in diagnostic manuals. But fatigue, tension and overwork are *not primary causes* of neurosis. In fact, they are very often its *symptoms*. They must occur in the presence of an already unstable personality to be associated with psychological disturbance. Dr. Wortis has *reversed* the relation of physiology to psy-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chology, and has made such outmoded statements about the causes of neurosis as were found frequently in the medical and psychiatric texts of forty years ago.

It is true that personality is derived from the activity of life experiences, but for several reasons the concept of activity treatment is unusable as advanced by Dr. Wortis.

1. In its present form, activity is to replace psychotherapy, i.e., the sociological relations of the patient replace his psychological functions. Sociology is substituted for psychology.

2. Dr. Wortis assumes that adult personality, as a reflection of the objective world, is passive, and therefore easily modifiable and plastic. This view also overlooks all the demonstrable forces making personality so resistant to change, particularly found in the neurotic personality.

3. His views further lead him to advance the hypothesis that a neurosis is the reflection of present bad human relations. The reverse is largely true. The neurotic's present bad relations certainly intensify his difficulties, but essentially they are a reflection of his neurosis, and not a cause of it. The neurotic knows what good relations are and wants them. Much of his unhappiness is precisely because he cannot have them. The two great distinguishing marks of neurotic behavior are: (a) the rigidity and compulsive force of established patterns of living and reacting, and (b) the fact that the neurotic is largely unable to change successfully his relationships without simultaneously clearing up his psychological difficulties.

4. Dr. Wortis states that anxiety can be cured by cooperative social activities, "with the exception of the special few." The observable facts simply do not agree with him; some of the most anxious people the author has ever seen have been active workers and trade unionists. Even people with mild anxiety who come to the psychiatrist are not cured by such activities. One will frequently find that the anxious individual is already working and participating in social activities, or has extensively done so in the past. Every clinician is well acquainted with the patient who has already run the entire gamut of progressive and union activities. Anxiety is not due to a simple lack of cooperative relations, nor is it always a simple *reflection* of economic insecurity or competitiveness. Anxiety is a complex *psychological* phenomenon which is not necessarily the reflection of present insecure conditions in the objective world. Luria's experiments in Moscow have demonstrated clearly that anxiety can be produced by creating unconscious psychological complexes in the patient.[1] Anxiety of the type that comes to a psychiatrist is a psychological phenomenon and must be primarily dealt with by psychological treatments.

5. Dr. Wortis makes an artificial distinction between the activity the patient should *theoretically* be doing, and what he is *already* doing, which is often close to the limit of his neurotic abilities. One cannot make such a distinction in psychotherapy, and because Dr. Wortis does make it, he is unable to combine activity and psychotherapy as he clearly indicates by saying that activity is to *follow* the psychotherapy. He thus separates theory from practice. Actually, the positive and negative sides of the patient's activity must be analyzed from the very beginning of treatment, as is done in modern psychoanalysis. Psychotherapy must utilize the positive elements of the *present* activity and building on these must gradually change both the activity and the patient's psychology together. There is such a close relationship here that one cannot be changed without changing the other, and a treatment that concentrates on activity alone is bound to fail.

6. Dr. Wortis' concept of psychotherapy as being a process "limited to talk alone" completely neglects the fact that the treatment is itself practical activity of a high order. A working relationship is set up between the patient and the doctor. The patient enters this in his typically limited fashion; analysis of this relationship not only serves as an example of his difficulties with others, but helps him overcome these difficulties in practice as he slowly overcomes the various illogical relationships to the physician. This relationship to the doctor (the "transference") is the true source of activity in treatment. Ferenczi greatly increased the workability of this concept, and psychoanalysis succeeds because it utilizes the patient's *transference* to the fullest extent in overcoming his *resistance* to change.

7. The activity theory can also become a "left-wing case-work" treatment in which the patient is told to get to work, join a union, engage in progressive activities, etc. This is not only an over-simplified approach that is no longer even good case work, but carries the further implication that only progressive, proletarian trade unionists can be cured. We cannot tolerate left-wing sectarianism in psychiatry either; we must reject any view that excludes white collar workers, professionals, intellectuals, Democrats and Republicans from the possibilities of treatment.

Dr. Wortis mentions many concepts of materialism and writes in progressive-sounding phrases, but his actual thinking is over-simplified and undialectical. He states: "The drunken man does not reveal his 'true' personality, he merely reveals the kind of personality he has when drunk." We can agree that a drunken man does not reveal his "true" personality, but the remainder of the statement has far-reaching implications. This type of argumentation is actually a revival of the disconnected medieval logic that gave a separate explanation for everything, e.g., "Water is water when warm and simply freezes when cold. It is the property of water to freeze when cold." This explains nothing about ice, and when Dr. Wortis applies such reasoning to personality he is actually denying the connections between the drunken personality and the sober; he is minimizing or denying the demonstrable existence of repressed character traits which appear when the man is drunk; and he is minimizing or denying all the other subtle dynamics and complexities of personality. This type of reasoning is medieval, not dialectical.

The core of Dr. Wortis' position consists of his undialectical tendency to simplify or overlook psychology, but to understand his full position, we must point out that it is complex and equivocal. Although he tends in practice to simplify psychology, he makes an excellent statement to the effect that personality is affected by biological endowment, past experience, ideological influences, social pressures, immediate social situations, etc. This, however, contradicts his general position, as he himself shows by retracting the statement in his next paragraph.

Dr. Wortis defends his over-simplification by repeated statements that it is

[1] Luria, "Nature of Human Conflicts," Ch. 4, pp. 128-169.

Due to a printer's error the fourth paragraph from the end of the first part of Dr. Furst's article (printed last week) read: "2. The self-respecting reactions themselves resist change by virtue of their automatic character. . . ."

It should have read: "The self-regenerating reactions . . . ," etc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Woodcut by Antonio Frasconi.

not 100 percent effective, that it does not apply to "the special few." The fact is that *all personality*, sick or healthy, is very complex and must be so because it is a reflection of our very complex society. Consequently, *there are no simple psychiatric problems*. It should also be obvious that people do not need to take simple problems to a psychiatrist.

Dr. Wortis criticizes Freudian psychoanalysis severely and destructively, and limits its contributions to a period of forty-five years ago. His real position on Freudianism is quite equivocal, however. His own "plain English analysis" uses three psychoanalytic techniques, e.g., free association, dream analysis, and understanding of symbols. It can be demonstrated with mathematical precision that these three techniques are quite meaningless unless they also depend on his unspoken use of three more analytic formulations, namely, insight, repression, and unconscious mental activity. Further analytic formulations are also necessary to explain what causes repression and what are the unconscious mental processes. Thus we can see that in spite of his criticism of Freudianism, Dr. Wortis makes large use of psychoanalytic concepts. *His permissible "plain English analysis" is itself a variant upon Freudian psychoanalysis!*

Dr. Wortis discusses Freudian psychoanalysis in such a manner as to condemn not only it but all other psychoanalysis, and beyond that, all psychotherapy as well. He accentuates the backward side of Freudianism and completely neglects its positive aspects by discussing Freudianism in such a manner that its present position seems accidental, or due to the fact so many important people have been analyzed.

He repeats the common charges that psychoanalysis can be regarded as a bourgeois phenomenon. He fails to see the development of psychoanalysis in true perspective. He clearly indicates his belief that no essential changes have occurred not only by making several direct statements to this effect but also by putting "advanced analyst" in quotation marks.

His use of a movie as case material is absolutely inadmissible in a scientific discussion. *Lady in the Dark* is not only a be-glamored and over-simplified presentation of Freudian psychoanalysis, but it bears no relation whatsoever to modern psychoanalysis as practiced by Horney and many others.

Dr. Wortis' article, far from clearing up the confusion of progressives on psychology, psychotherapy and psychoanalysis, is itself an accurate reflection of every one of the common misconceptions. Coming as it does from a physician, it puts an official stamp on these confusions. It must be criticized not only for its undialectic approach to psychology and psychotherapy, but also for the practical reason that articles of this sort prejudice people against treatments that are useful and necessary.

We can be sure that a psychological level of integration is a fact demonstrable in both theory and practice. Corresponding to this psychological level there exist psychological illnesses which must be treated by complex psychotherapeutic methods resting on a synthesis of sociology, physiology and psychology.

The aim of all psychotherapy is not to adjust the individual to a present bad society, nor to allow him to feel free to express his own bad traits. It is rather to enable him to participate in a fruitful and constructive existence by clearing away his psychological conflicts, confusions and misconceptions about himself and the surrounding world.

Modern psychoanalysis will play a considerable role in the development of the new psychotherapy. While not yet perfected it is an extraordinarily fruitful and valuable method of treatment and one which promises in coming years to solve many problems of psychotherapy on the highest level.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MILITARY TRAINING—FOR WHAT?

By THE EDITORS

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S program for universal training is being scrutinized as few presidential messages have ever been. And with good reason. The parents of the nation, impatiently awaiting the return of their sons from World War II, are increasingly suspicious that the administration's perspective is World War III. For America woke one day to find that besides a peacetime army of two and a half million men, and a navy "greater than all the navies of the world combined," the Chief Executive is proposing that every son of America accept a year's military training after he reaches the age of eighteen. This, added to Mr. Truman's reiterated determination to monopolize the atom bomb, has evoked the deepest disquiet from the nation's millions. And from the world's.

Of the many published declarations, perhaps most typical is that of Harvey Brown, president of the greatest AFL union, the International Association of Machinists. He warned: "Adoption of compulsory military training would mean to the common people of all lands that the United States is getting ready for another war. Against whom? Is it against one of the Allied nations?" Millions of Americans place this question before the administration. They observe its policy shift from Big Three coalition and international cooperation to that of unbridled armament. They want to get at the thinking, the basis for this fundamental shift.

FOR after the holocaust we have just passed through, it is hard to convince America that we can guarantee the peace by unilateral armament, even though ours is the most powerful, the richest nation on earth. Our tremendous strength did not defeat the Axis combination: we won, as General Marshall himself recently said, because we were part of a concert of anti-fascist powers. We won because our foreign *policy* had been right. And few in America dissented when our government asked total mobilization, demanding that our youth prepare itself to make the supreme sacrifice. The American people overwhelmingly agreed with our government's policy of coalition, and concurred with President Roosevelt that that policy be maintained into the postwar era. We held an election based on this concept. Mr. Roosevelt was reelected on it, and the people accepted Mr. Truman as the running-mate because he said he stood four-square on that issue.

But there is a vast question-mark hanging over America today, rising from the treacherous handiwork of Secretary Byrnes in Europe, in Japan, in the colonial world. We see the emergence and expansion of a unilateral policy, in which the United States, the strongest single power on earth, swaggers about the continents determined to have everything our way (the American Century way). Universal military training is clearly an instrument of foreign policy: and if the latter is based upon a program of imperialistic expansion, can Mr. Truman's contention be accepted that piling up military might is a guarantee of peace?

Listen to former Governor Elmer Benson of Minnesota, chairman of the Executive Council of the National Citizen's Political Action Committee, who expressed diametric opposition to Truman's proposals: "Only an international policy based on a genuine desire for cooperation, not American dictation, and a domestic policy designed to meet our people's needs will give us real protection against another war." And Mrs. John E. Martin, president of the Michigan chapter of the United Council of Church Women—ten million strong—bespoke the haunting fears of millions of mothers when, before her national board, she questioned whether the President's message was unlike "a Nazi program for our youth in which we are being stampeded by hysteria and by the fear of Russia being held over our heads."

NEW MASSES' disagreement with the President's proposals are, assuredly, of no pacifist nature. We disagree, because we disagree utterly with a foreign policy which has, under Secretary Byrnes, deteriorated most dangerously the past two months as he surrenders to the saber-toothed ambitions of American imperialism. We disagree because we do not believe that military training, armaments, the atom bomb, of themselves constitute security. We know, as history has underscored, America could never have defeated the Axis unilaterally. We won because of coalition policy. Some months ago we wrote: "The character and purpose of military training, whether in war or in peace, is always dependent on the policy of which it is the instrument." At that time we supported compulsory military training in peacetime: we erred then because we believed that our foreign policy in the postwar period would automatically be based upon the agreement of Teheran, Yalta and other instruments of Big Three concord.

If the American people, thoroughly aroused and united in their opposition, compel President Truman and his administration to return to the road America trod during the war, we would then progress toward security. If Mr. Truman were to cooperate with the Soviet Union, regard it as friend and ally, rather than enemy, we would see the extirpation of fascism and the growth of democracy throughout the world—developments which make for peace. If that policy is reestablished we would not hear calls for a vast armament: our United Nations obligations could be fulfilled with a small army, a small navy, the quotas for which would constitute no great problem. Such a policy jibes with the wishes of the people, their security, the world's security. To win it requires the utmost vigilance and energy of all peace-loving Americans. They must fight for the peace as they fought for victory.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NM SPOTLIGHT

Mr. Truman's Homilies

IN AMERICAN diplomatic history, certainly since the turn of the century, there has never been a fundamental foreign policy statement which did not hide its aggressive intent, when it had one, under a heavy cloak of self-righteousness and high "moral" principle. Turn back to the speeches of Teddy Roosevelt, William McKinley or Woodrow Wilson and you will see how the diplomatic club has been encased in smooth moral velvet before it was used against someone or other. President McKinley is said to have prayed all night before he decided the next morning to engage in an imperialist war. And so it goes because aggressive imperialism has always been a hard pill for the American people to swallow and sugar-coating it with choice "moral" phrases seems to make it less bitter to the tongue.

President Truman's Navy Day speech also bears the stamp of his predecessors' moral vacuities. Ringed by a half million tons of fighting, floating steel he insisted that the United States is attempting to "bring the Golden Rule into the international affairs of the world." Now the Golden Rule, like love, is a good thing, but we strongly urge Mr. Truman to begin following it himself with the same conviction and strength that he advises other states to follow it. Does Mr. Truman forget that it was only last week that his Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, said in effect that it was all right to shoot down Indonesian independence forces provided the Dutch removed the American labels from the guns? Does Mr. Truman forget that while the Golden Rule leads him to say that the United States does not want an inch of territory belonging to anyone else, the Army, Navy and State Departments have plans for taking over Pacific real estate for their private and exclusive use? Does Mr. Truman really believe in the Golden Rule when he proclaims that the atomic bomb will be kept a secret? If Mr. Truman in pursuing the precept of the Golden Rule believes that economic collaboration among the Allies is imperative for the world's well-being, why does he withhold loans and credits from countries in eastern and southeastern Europe? Is the Golden Rule to apply only to those states which bend the knee before American imperialists? Is Franco so devout an adherent of the Golden Rule that the United States must not break diplomatic relations with him?

This presidential self-righteousness, this moral pontificating, may sit well with the fascist-minded Senator Wheeler, with Senator Taft and with the big boys at the stock tickers, but Europeans and Chinese and Africans will wonder what Mr. Truman is talking about. They will wonder how it is possible for him to assume the pose that the rest of the world is made up of criminals and it is only Americans and their President who have a sense of justice. They will wonder what Mr. Truman has in mind when he says that they have a right to security provided it meets with Washington's approval. In Latin America millions will wonder what will happen to them if they don't like American imperialist policy parading in the guise of hemisphere defense. Throughout the world people will ask: If Mr. Truman believes in United Nations unity to protect the peace, how is it that the United States will maintain the largest army and navy, an army and navy larger than will be necessary if the United Nations are to pool their resources in defense of peace?

Mr. Truman has had his way and it confirms all the suspicions and fears which the anti-imperialist forces have been expressing these past two months. Mrs. Roosevelt in Philadelphia October 25 said that she was not sure that President Truman's foreign policy would help create a peaceful world. Mrs. Roosevelt must know how her husband's policies are being distorted and betrayed.

Chinese Civil War

THE unexpected announcement from Washington that Ambassador Hurley was being sent back to China has apparently been interpreted by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his cronies in the Chungking dictatorship as giving the green light to civil war. News dispatches early this week report fighting in eleven provinces. These events—the continuance of Hurley in office and the renewal of civil war—are linked: the American Ambassador has become the symbol of a policy which is designed to bolster the Kuomintang dictatorship at all costs against the democratic aspirations of the Chinese people.

At the time of Hurley's return to this country with Major General Wedemeyer a few weeks ago for White House talks it was supposed that the American policy of armed intervention against Chinese democracy would be reexamined. For many months it has been evident that the policy was popular neither in this country nor abroad. It is a policy of outright imperialism, the purpose of which is to retain China as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial nation subservient to the interests of American monopolists and the most backward elements in China. It is a policy which is preventing the Chinese people from gathering the harvest of their long and brave fight against the Japanese. It is hurling Eastern Asia down the road of insecurity, bloodshed and civil war.

The decision to return Hurley to his post in China indicates the continuation of this ruinous policy. Chiang Kai-shek, who could not afford to risk civil war by himself, now dares to do so because he is confident of American support.

One Strike on Jim Crow

WE REJOICE with all decent-minded citizens at the first break in the hold which Jim Crow has had upon major league baseball. The signing of Jackie Robinson, former star of the Kansas City Monarchs and former Army lieutenant with twenty-six months service overseas, by the Brooklyn Dodgers for their Montreal farm outfit is a momentous event in the long struggle for equal rights for Negroes and whites. The *Daily Worker* opened the drive against Jim Crow in baseball eight years ago. It has led the fight ever since. To that newspaper and to its militant sports writers go the heartfelt congratulations of democratic Americans.

Reaction, of course, started right in to cancel the victory. They tried, unsuccessfully, to create trouble with Robinson's former team. They will do everything possible to make things difficult and unpleasant for this Negro pioneer in the big leagues. As Nat Low

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Palestine—A Football?

LAST week 250,000 New Yorkers, Jews as well as non-Jews, united to speak up against the British White Paper prohibiting the emigration of Jews to Palestine. It was a demonstration that stretched across seven city blocks—across the Atlantic to Europe where the plight of the Jews, despite their liberation from Nazi thralldom, remains unrelieved. The demonstrators were angry. They had nothing but words of bitterness for British imperialist policy—a policy that considers oil more important than lives, Arab reactionaries more important than safeguarding the Jewish community of Palestine and permitting its expansion to include all Jews who want to live there. We can only hope that these demonstrations will be repeated throughout the land, for it will take more than one meeting in Madison Square Garden or Madison Square Park to impress on the British Labor government that millions of Americans of all creeds, colors and nationalities support the demands of world Jewry that Palestine's gates be opened immediately.

From all indications the British government feels that pressure; but not strongly enough to make a radical departure from its past conduct and abrogate the White Paper. There is even evidence that British officials in Palestine may create a series of incidents as counter-pressure to justify what they have been doing in the past. A few days ago Constantine Poulos, well-known correspondent for the Overseas News Agency, reported that the British are creating a synthetic tension between Arabs and Jews in order to intervene with troops—an intervention which will be interpreted to the world as meaning that affairs in Palestine are such that it would be dangerous to admit more Jews to the country. In payment for telling the truth Poulos was expelled from Palestine and the order for his expulsion came, strangely enough, not from the British but from the United States Middle Eastern Theater headquarters.

All this raises the question of what the American government is doing to help Europe's Jews reach Palestine. News reports from London say that Mr. Truman has come to some understanding with Prime Minister Attlee by which the United States will cooperate with Britain. But the correspondents say that the arrangements made are very vague and there is good reason to believe that even if a London-Washington "instrument of policy" does exist it will not begin to meet the minimum demand of allowing 100,000 Jews into Palestine immediately. If Mr. Truman means what he has been supposedly saying to the British about the 100,000 quota, he will allow an additional 100,000 of Europe's Jews to come and settle in the United States. That will in no way relieve the British of their responsibility but will place a moral onus on them if they fail to match Washington's move.

In the long run the fate of Palestine will be solved only by the Allied coalition. If that coalition continues under strain as it has been in recent weeks, Palestine will be a football kicked around by imperialist powers. And if the coalition breaks up, all the hopes and plans for a Jewish community will be empty dreams. We regret that the memorandum submitted recently to Secretary of State Byrnes by Rabbi Stephen Wise and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, co-chairmen of the Zionist Emergency Committee, does not make that point amply clear. The memorandum is of considerable value in aiding the battle against the White Paper but those who wrote it should have remembered that they were giving it to a man who has persistently disrupted relations between the US and the USSR thereby menacing the coalition. It would be an illusion for Jewish anti-fascists, in fact all anti-fascists, to believe that Mr. Byrnes can be depended upon for a just and democratic settlement of the Palestine issue.

suggests in his *Daily Worker* column, such maneuvers must be countered by organized support of this forward step. Obviously Jim Crow in baseball has not been smashed by the signing of a single Negro player. Much as we welcome this initial victory we must understand that it will not be consolidated until Negro players are included in the roster of every ball team.

Primary Grade Lessons

DURING the war, general negligence, the excuse of shortages and wilful, bad intentions of anti-democrats have pushed America's schools into a marginal state of operation. Some weeks back, that little-remaining equilibrium was shaken severely. "Riots" and what got labelled race troubles in the schools broke out all over the country in an appalling unison. In New York, uneasy tensions culminated in the "incidents" between Negro and white students within the Benjamin Franklin High School. The press furor, which stirred up a great many half truths and more than one out and out lie, also stirred up those most deeply concerned, and real action has begun to clear up the problems in the schools proper which helped contribute to the alarming outbreaks into which the students were dragged. Both teachers and parents got busy. The Bedford - Stuyvesant and Williamsburg School Councils, along with other organizations, demanded that the dilatory and notoriously resistant Board of Education act on problems in over-large classes, poorly paid and overburdened teachers, the special problems of underprivileged areas and out-and-out pro-fascist influences in the schools. Letters and resolutions were backed up by the appearance of parent-citizens' organizations in numbers to win at least one victory. The scandalous case of May Quinn, Brooklyn public school teacher who openly flaunted pro-fascist teachings before her classes, has at last been called to a trial before the Board, three years after charges were first preferred against her.

The issues, however, have been clouded in the press by the moves of the shrewd and ambitious little politician at the governor's mansion in Albany. Remembering the "successes" of the notorious Rapp-Coudert committee, no doubt, Mr. Dewey is making capital of the resignation of several members of the Board of Education's Advisory Committee on Human Relations whose business it was to look into problems of race relations and the like, to back a call for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a state investigation of the New York schools.

This is a familiar Albany dodge to restrain New York City's progressive forces by interference from the predominantly Republican up-state. And the moral outcry Mr. Dewey so nobly raises about the deplorable state of the schools —which he has deliberately starved through the budget and a dozen other devious devices—should not mislead anyone into thinking that his proposals will solve the problem. As the Teachers Union says, "Any investigation conducted or authorized by Governor Dewey would turn our schools into a political football. It would drag on forever, prolong and intensify the crisis and throw our schools into complete confusion and terror." The real solutions can best be reached through the public hearings to give parents, teachers and civic organizations an opportunity to testify before the Board demanded by the union.

Here and There

G. B. SHAW, noted among other things as a shrewd investor, has demonstrated his faith in the future of socialism by purchasing 200 pounds worth of the stock of the London *Daily Worker*, the largest single holding permitted by the paper.

● Symbolically, as he hung from a self-knotted noose over a toilet bowl, repulsive Robert Ley sent the Nazi's favorite dogma, anti-Semitism, down the drain. In a suicide's last message he confessed anti-Semitism to have proved a crime and a disaster to Germany and urged the German people to seek a reconciliation with the Jewish people.

● In an election which the official Kuomintang observer describes as completely democratic the people of Outer Mongolia voted unanimously to separate from China, proving that when the issues are not befogged by contradictory economic interests it is not only in the Soviet Union that a whole people can agree.

● Our efficient and—oh yes—free press gave large space to rumors of Soviet troop mobilization in Bulgaria and only an inconspicuous paragraph to the Tass denial of same. Question: Was the rumor concocted to justify plans for some new British-American move in the Balkans?

● Geo-politician Karl Haushofer, who provided the geographical theories on which the Nazi plans for world conquest were based, was let loose by the American occupation authorities. His treatment emboldened him to put in a good word for his pupil Rudolf Hess as, to quote an AP interview, "a noble idealist who always sought to reconcile Germany with the western powers in order that Hitler should have a free hand in attacking the USSR."

● Rankin's un-American committee is finding that the aroused American sentiment which drove his predecessor Dies out of Congress is active again. A House session saw vigorous opposition against it; and the number of citizen organizations roused against it has risen to twenty. Swing the organization you're in, into the fight.

● The situation in Venezuela is as yet a puzzle, but one thing is clear: there is nothing in the record of Romulo Betancourt, head of the "revolutionary" junta to encourage progressives. His past is that of a typical Red-baiting demagogue.

● Pressure by progressive forces throughout the world can save the lives of Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapirian, Spanish Resistance leaders. A Franco court is to "try" them soon. Prevent a legal lynching. Demand that our State department secure their release.

AROUND THE WORLD

WHY THE FRENCH C. P. WON

By YVES MOREAU

Paris (by cable)

IN THE French elections, the Communist Party emerged as the first party of France, with over five million votes. Moreover the Communists have roots throughout the whole country; for the first time in France we see a party win the provinces without losing Paris. Out of fifty-three seats in the Department of the Seine alone the Communists won twenty-two to the Socialists' seven, the five of the Social Democratic Union of the Resistance, the seven of the Popular Republican Movement (MRP), and the two of the Republican Federation, with the rest scattered among other groups. The election of Maurice Thorez in the South Seine sector was a particularly triumphant one. The reactionaries there had let loose a tremendous torrent of calumny against him, distorting both what he had said and the position his party took on various issues. He received 150,376 votes.

"The people voted for the Communists," declared Jacques Duclos over the radio, "because of their fidelity to the cause of the legitimate interests of the working masses." The enormous success of the Communists is even more striking in view of the caricature of proportional representation set up for the elections. The whole system was weighted against industrial centers and in favor of the rural regions. Despite this there will be at least 152 Communist deputies in the Assembly as against seventy-two Communists in 1936, when the Chamber comprised 618 members.

In *Populaire*, the head of the Socialists, Leon Blum, expressed his "discomfort" that his party did not carry off the victory on which he counted. Of the parties in the election, Blum wrote, "it was generally thought that ours would keep the lead, increasing it with the same advance made in the cantonal elections, and I think that was our legitimate hope. Our forecast was mistaken." The Socialists believed that they would actually have a success in France comparable to that of the British Labor Party. The MRP carefully and adroitly sustained that hope and, Gaston Palewski, chief of de Gaulle's cabinet, predicted before the elections that the Socialists would win 150 seats to 120 for the Communists. Now the Socialist Party is in only a secondary position. The reasons may be found in the immoral alliances the Socialists formed almost everywhere with unsavory poli-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

De Gaulle and Blum Are Answered

BEYOND what our Paris correspondent reports on the outcome of the French elections one thing is clear. The great triumph of the Communists represents a stinging rebuke to General de Gaulle's project for a Western bloc. This feature of his foreign policy was a key issue in the campaign and there can be no doubt now as to how working class Frenchmen feel about it. In the catastrophe which met the Radical Socialists at the polls, there is also a formal repudiation of the party whose leadership engineered the Munich agreement. The connection between the defeat of the Radical Socialists and the explicit criticism of de Gaulle may, offhand, seem remote but the two are actually closely tied. For both the Munich pact and the concept of Western bloc are in essence anti-Soviet. How important it was that de Gaulle be told off can only be understood if France is seen as holding a pivotal position on the Continent in terms of Europe's future as a whole. If the Communists and their allies had not gained their electoral victory, the reactionaries and fascists of every country would have taken heart and pressed for the division of Europe along the lines suggested by de Gaulle. That does not in the least mean that de Gaulle has surrendered his purpose or that those with whom he works among the British Tories and the British Labor Party will now forego the building of a bloc. They will have to operate, nevertheless, quite differently and employ a greater demagogy at which in France de Gaulle's party, the MRP, is so expert. There can be no objection to equal and well regulated Anglo-French relations. Every state has the right to strengthen its bonds with other states. But those bonds become menacing when they are given anti-Soviet orientation or when they are intended to replace a general democratic unity of Europe.

De Gaulle has his answer in large part. Leon Blum, who placed a stamp of approval on de Gaulle's foreign policy, also has his answer. This old guard Socialist and his followers never seem to learn. It does not take much political acumen to see that de Gaulle's sponsorship of a Western bloc had as one of its chief objectives the division of the French Left while he rallied the Right for the elections. In one sense de Gaulle achieved what he was after. Had the Socialists united with the Communists on fundamentals of internal and foreign policy then de Gaulle could have been nicely relegated to the shelf of men who could not grow and keep abreast of the times. As matters stand, the failure to date of the two working class parties to unite gives de Gaulle's MRP opportunities to maneuver and obstruct. Again this is a case where division only helps the enemy. How long will it take the French Socialist hierarchy to master the elementary lesson of our time?

tical groups. But the reason is to be found first of all in the Socialists' refusal to accept the Communists' proposals for working class and republican unity. In fact the Socialist Party went so far as to support the most vicious anti-Communist propaganda. In all this they have been the dupes of reaction. Not only did the Socialists not gain anything from such a policy but frequently the result was that they actually gave up their own positions to reaction.

THE reactionaries are represented almost exclusively by the MRP, unofficially De Gaulle's party. This party, which was formed after the Liberation, has been sometimes compared with the old German Centrist Party. Along with others the reactionary Catholic hierarchy find in the MRP their last support because the traditional reactionary parties have been discredited by their position during the war and the occupation. To say that France wants "something new," as the MRP says, has become a commonplace. The MRP is lavish with social demagogy and is exactly the type of party which French reaction needs today. This explains in part the result it obtained.

All other parties have been almost completely wiped out. The Munichman, Daladier, dragged the Radical Socialist party with him to defeat. More than one French newspaper has pointed out the fact that it was because the Radical Socialists did not break with Munichism that they met their downfall. Daladier himself was roundly trounced when he ran at Vaucluse.

The electorate was asked to reply yes or no to two questions. Answering yes to the first question signified that the new Assembly would be a Constituent Assembly. Answering no, it would be a Chamber of Deputies in the pattern established by the old Constitution of 1875. With the exception of the Radical Socialists, all parties campaigned in favor of a yes answer and the people agreed by an enormous majority.

The second question concerned the government's project to limit certain prerogatives of the Assembly. The Communists, supporting a completely sovereign assembly, disapproved of the project. The Radical Socialists also opposed it. All other parties, including the Socialists who expected to be swept into power by the elections, supported the answer of yes to reinforce the power of the executive over the legislature. This response prevailed with a majority much less significant than in the case of the first question.

One of the essential characteristics of the new Assembly is that for the first time in France, the two working-class parties, Communist and Socialist, command an absolute majority. The striking victory of the Communist Party renders it very unlikely that the formation of the government majority will rest on a coalition of the Socialists and the MRP—a coalition desired by certain reactionary newspapers. The Socialists, it is to be hoped, will see what an anti-unity policy has cost them and it is certain that the Communists will leave no stone unturned in order to remove all obstacles in the way to unity.

Unity will permit France the benefits of a Constitution guaranteeing sovereignty and full democracy to the people. Unity will assure the carrying out by the new Assembly and the government of the program of the Council of National Resistance worked out during the German occupation and approved by all republicans. Notably the CNR program provides for the return to the nation of the wealth still controlled by the trusts, the country's traitors. Realizing this program can assure without delay the rebirth of France and the annihilation of the menace of the trusts against her liberty.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READERS' FORUM

Trade Secrets

TO NEW MASSES: I too am opposed to giving the Soviet Union the secret of atomic power free for nothing.

Couldn't we get the Russian secret of an economy free from crisis and unemployment in exchange?

BUD REYNOLDS.

Long Beach, Cal.

Woman: Cook or Queen?

TO NEW MASSES: For a progressive journal you have been sadly neglectful of the woman question. Pope Pius XII thought this subject warranted a major speech this week, which the *Times* thought important enough to print in full. It is an old truism that women are half the human race and can be won either for progress or reaction. Capitalism conspires to keep them in the home because this also keeps them backward, apart from the main struggles and currents of the times.

To my way of thinking the round of cleaning, cooking and bench-sitting with the child in the park that goes with being home can hardly be considered reigning as queen, to paraphrase the Pope. Yet it is also true that a woman engaged outside must also carry on the home functions, and so has a double burden, which the progressive movement must recognize. This is one of the reasons why we women have a special problem. When I belonged to a union most of whose members were women, and leaders men, and raised the question of additional woman leadership, I was told that the men were better in these capacities and contributed more. Maybe so—but special steps have to be taken to draw women into leadership as against all the traditions, customs and public opinion which conspire to keep them in the background. Even when women achieve responsibility, how often is this in the form of secretary or treasurer rather than chairman!

During the war we made certain gains now in danger of being wiped out. You have made passing references to the seniority provisions in unions, and practically none to the pending elimination of government-supported day care nurseries, to mention but two issues. These government-subsidized nurseries are restricted to women who *have* to work. It would appear that public opinion does not yet support nurseries for women who *wish* to work, or to study, or to make some other contribution outside of the home greater than can be made inside. Wouldn't mankind have had a great loss if Madame Curie, let us say, had been unable to pursue her research because she was tied down with housework and children?

There is some professional evidence that a mother's personal care is essential until a child is two or three years old, but after this period, in my opinion, group care and experience are invaluable for optimum development.

And now a word to Mr. A. G. in your issue of October 23 regarding "New Paths for Psychoanalysis." I do not see that the author had any disagreement with him about the contributions that psychoanalytic therapy could make to the progressive movement. The new "personal service" divisions of unions such as the NMU show that they recognize such an approach can be helpful to their members. Dr. Wortis showed how these long-used theories need to be brought up to date by taking more cognizance of social conditions and the larger world in which the individual lives, rather than solely by helping straighten out the inner life of the individual and helping him to adjust to a society which may itself have neurotic features, such as mass unemployment.

Best wishes from an old subscriber,

MRS. F.

More on Wortis and Freud

TO NEW MASSES: Freud's "scientific method for understanding human behavior is essentially antiquarian and biological," writes Dr. Joseph Wortis in his recent article, "The Psychoanalytic Tradition" [NM, October 2]. A little later on he objects that "Freudianism . . . has almost completely lost interest in the material physiological basis of mental function. . . ."

And is not "the material physiological basis" a *biological* basis?

These contradictory formulations are merely typical of the greater part of Dr. Wortis' article, which abounds in faulty reasoning and gross misrepresentation of Freudian concepts.

Dr. Wortis writes as though Freud separated the mind from the body, and society from the individual, and then proceeds to condemn Freudism for overemphasizing the mind and the individual, respectively. How far this is from what Freud actually said can be easily determined by a systematic study of his writings. Of course, one can find many things in Freud that are unacceptable. However, it is quite a different matter to pick out a paragraph at random from his many works and to use it as argument against Freud's basic theories. How often have we been angered when quotations from Marx and Lenin were used in such manner! Shall we say Marxism is not good for predicting the future course of history because once Marx wrote an obituary for the Czech nation?

To reply fully to Dr. Wortis, it would be necessary to write voluminously. I hope that the readers of NEW MASSES will seek the facts of Freudism from Freud himself, and not from an assortment of revisionists. . . .

SYLVIA SCHNEIDER.

TO NEW MASSES: Having read with very considerable interest and stimulation the two articles on psychoanalysis by Dr. Joseph Wortis [NM, October 2 and 9] it is with some disturbance that I see them attacked and sharply criticized by a reader. What to me seemed like the fresh air of a window opened on a stuffy room, I find instead characterized as "pompous confusion of meaningless phrases" and "unsavory hash."

Was I so easily fooled and misled by what I felt to be refreshing, encouraging and forward-looking in the Wortis articles, or is this criticism by A.G. [October 16] just another example of what seems to have been, since time began, the fate of every newly-ventured reach of human thought?

It would be helpful to have some other opinions.

GILBERT WILSON.

New York.

TO NEW MASSES: I would like to know whether the articles by Joseph Wortis are meant for the readers. If they are, why doesn't he employ a more simple style and make them more understandable. Perhaps they are meant for the student of psychoanalysis, or the intellectual only. In this case I am out of it completely.

F. N.

TO NEW MASSES: Wortis' articles on psychoanalysis [NM, October 2 and 9] and the one in the Summer issue of *Science and Society* were of great interest to me. I think

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they contributed something to the evaluation of psychoanalysis and to suggesting a better future for it, but I believe they still omitted the main potential use of psychology for labor. This is the delineation of a sexual morality suitable to our time.

The morality of the past was tied to the church, property, or the needs of various elites. The poor stumbled along as best they could without benefit of any guidance based on a factual study of the natures of men and women. If it is true that human nature is largely a constant, then obviously some sort of morality could be based on this constant along with the variables of a given society.

Wortis' criticisms of Freud seemed to me valid but unsatisfactory. Freud was an honest scientist against great odds, but his subject was almost exclusively the middle class male. Freud's efforts to delineate the role of the unconscious seem to me most valuable. . . .

Chicago. FAITH RICH.

This Time

TO NEW MASSES: Our domestic and economic enemy No. 1—unemployment—cannot be bombed out. But it can blow up. My approach to the problem of a mixed economy is that of a white-collar worker, long a supervisor and administrator in both private enterprise and a government agency. The future has its beginnings in the past and therefore I must go back to the days of the Great Depression. All the normal processes of our great country slackened and stalled. We, the nation, had actually slept through our bloated prosperity. The awakening was more like a longer sleep, descending into a nightmare, as unemployment spread from thousands into millions, family savings were exhausted, possessions pawned or sold, and creditors could undertake no more risks. The depression rolled in like a tidal wave.

Then the sad, pride-breaking spectacle of relief—all races, all creeds, being forced, in desperation, to accept aid of a kind which ignored human price and dignity. They were dark days, and whether you wish to remember them or not, their impression remains indelible upon the pages of our history.

Born of necessity, work-relief, PWA and WPA, loomed as a temporary salvation. Why, a man could at least *feel* that he was earning his bread, and that *was* something. Yes, that was something, but not *the* something hoped for.

The attempt to alleviate mass penury was publicized into an even deadlier form of abasement. A man was looked down upon by his more fortunate contemporaries. ("It is the taxes I pay which are keeping you.") Private employers counted a man's absorption by such an agency as a sure sign of his lack of ability. ("If you were possessed of any employable qualities, you wouldn't be where you are now.") Employment agencies filed his application and, in most cases, it stayed filed. ("Private employers will not consider applicants from WPA, or relief. They are already provided for.") Investigators came to the project for periodic questioning of the worker. ("We have a report that you are also working in a fruitstore on Saturdays.") And political pressure of both brands was frequently brought to bear.

Now, all bodies can react favorably to the guarantee of enough to eat. But all minds cannot react favorably to the method by which the guarantee is obtained. So the struggle for existence—and self-respect—went on.

Basically, the idea behind work-relief was good. But the hoped for reabsorption of human labor by private payrolls never materialized sufficiently to diminish, much less abandon, the proposition of feeding men through public funds. With increasing tragicness once profitable trades became dead trades. At the beginning of World War II, with millions unemployed, there was a woeful lack of trained labor because men were long ago sacrificed to interests detached from common welfare.

Now we come to reconversion. We come to unemployment. We come to unemployment compensation. When, and in what manner, do we come to *job insurance?*

Unemployment insurance is not relief as we knew relief in its depression terms. But it *is* stabilization through an individual's non-earning period. But what we Americans prefer, and will insist upon, is—*jobs*—which brings us to job insurance, be it the Murray Full Employment Bill, S-380, or a like piece of legislation.

That as many of us are as well off as we are today we owe to labor's continual efforts to improve itself and to retain the gains it has made. The fight must continue. But we must also strive for a labor demand equal to the labor pool. Conceivably, industrial progress and capacity to produce will frequently run ahead of consumer demand and purchase. That is why there is no alternative to a mixed economy.

The size and cost of a public works policy will not only fluctuate, but will depend entirely upon the success of labor's pressure upon business and industry to provide the full employment which financial security for each home requires. In a last analysis, no monetary cost can be considered too great. The preservation of a nation's people in peace time is as important as the destruction of a nation's enemy in war time. The government's part in the operation of the new public works must be *non-partisanly administered*, and a distinct entity from civil service. The nature of the new public works is as important as the paychecks which will be derived from them. White-collar or construction, they must be adequately planned and not solely a stop-gap invention.

This time, public works must be intelligently administered, dedicated to training, utilizing and keeping alert the training and skill of men and women dislocated from private employment. Our new public works should provide a constant pool of active workers from which a three-interest board of administration, labor, government and business, can draw to fill the needs of more lucrative employment.

The issue of full employment and the mixed economy it engenders is large, shot full of controversial details. But the demand which overshadows all else is that useful jobs must be provided. Let us see that it is done.

R. S.

Philadelphia.

"Thou Louse"

TO NEW MASSES: Here is a poem dedicated to a man whose behaviour is decidedly Rank-in Congress:

Thou blot upon the page of human progress
Thou wart upon the face of history
Thou stench within the nostrils of our Congress
Thou lowest low of southern infamy.

Thou roadblock on the highway of the future
Thou louse within our legislative shirt
Thou moral wound too gangrenous for suture
Thou offal-heap of Jim-crow, Poll-tax, dirt.

If one could girdle earth at the equator
Or, at opposing poles the planet span
He still could not encompass baseness greater
Than thine: thou insult to the name of man.

ERNEST E. MAIR.
(Metro. Chap. 31, FAECT, CIO)
Lloyd-Rodgers Local.

New York.

Memo

TO NEW MASSES: We have taken NEW MASSES for over three years and wouldn't be without it. I must admit we are not really Marxists in the way we'd like to be—that of knowing Marx and Lenin as one should. Yet during the past year I sensed a difference in your magazine that I didn't understand. Since the Duclos letter I feel a difference in your magazine that makes it more understandable and enjoyable, though at first I didn't agree that the policy of the Communist Party had been wrong. I think now that the Marxists must be back "on the beam" again.

IRENE B. HULL.

Seattle, Washington.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE JEWISH WRITER

Further Comments by Karl Shapiro, Nathan Ausubel and Isidor Schneider

MR. AUSUBEL'S article, "The Jewish Writer's Dilemma" [NM, July 31] raised a question which I think did not exist before: namely, that the Jewish writer must decide "whether he is going to write about Jewish life or ignore it altogether." As a counter-question I would like to ask how many Jewish writers have felt the need in our time to express their Jewishness; and as a corollary, if they have not felt this need, is it, as Mr. Ausubel says, because they prefer the camouflage of an adopted nationality (American, French, Russian or German) or because the dilemma doesn't really exist?

Let me use myself as my most familiar example. I am Jewish and I am a writer but I do not consider myself, and am not considered, a "Jewish writer." Which is to say that what I write about, how I write, and who I am read by, have no bearing on my Jewishness. In Australia I was introduced as an "American writer," a title which did not strike me as inaccurate. Several people who had read my poems were surprised to learn that I was a Jew. My point is that I don't think the writer who happens to be a Jew has any more obligation to his Jewishness than a Christian writer has to his Christianness. It is a personal question entirely and must be dealt with personally.

Mr. Ausubel deals specifically with the guilt-and-innocence motives of Jewish writers handling (or not handling) the Nazi massacres. But to emphasize the massacres of the Jews at the expense of other Nazi atrocities (the murder of Poles, Czechs, Russians, war prisoners, liberals and dissident political elements of all kinds) is to obscure the real issue of Nazism. In Germany anti-Semitism dropped to the gangster level, as did everything else in German life. The "higher" levels of anti-Semitism such as the democratic countries enjoy are also part of the larger potential atrocity of fascism. It would be well to remember that the Jews who perished in Germany were victims and not slaughtered saints. I do not think it is fitting for a Jewish writer to isolate the Jews from the other, more numerous, victims of Hitlerism.

I think Mr. Ausubel's article boils down to the very interesting question: Why don't Jews write about themselves? The first answer that comes to my mind in this connection is that it is unseasonably reactionary to ask a Jewish writer who does not *feel* his Jewishness to try to recapture or create Jewishness in his writing. In poetry at least I have noticed for some years that national and racial (and even sexual) lines have become blurred. I too would like to discover a contemporary poet who writes deeply and stirringly as an American, an Englishman, a Catholic or a Jew. But such is not the current idiom.

It would be artificial, would it not, to revive racial or national memories which are moribund or dead? And is not Judaism too factional and non-missionary in our era to cultivate the Judaistic qualities of its poets and novelists? The tendency of most Jews, as Mr. Ausubel points out, is to escape the confinement of the Jewish social orbit as early as possible and to explore a wider and freer environment. There is nothing inherently reprehensible in this exodus, which is in fact a criticism of a minority society which has lost its cultural vitality. A religion without centralization of authority or living critics and prophets has little to offer the artist who is concerned with more than race nostalgia or neighborhood sentimentality.

I think the cultural problem of the Jewish writer can best be articulated on the religious plane. One must experience the continuity of the heritage in order to participate in it or derive profit from it; but nearly all Jewish writers of my generation have been disaffected from religion by one political philosophy or another.

It is criminal, in a sense, that no Jew *qua* Jewish writer has dealt with the religious implications of the Nazi nightmare. The most telling remarks in this connection which I have read in the last five years were by Hermann Rauschning, the democratic convert and ex-Nazi. The Germans, Rauschning said in effect, spearheaded the Christian will to destroy its ethos, the root of which is the Mosaic Law. In my opinion, a Jewish writer (if he takes it as his province at all) must treat with Judaism on some such terms and develop an affirmative Jewish psychology which transcends professional Judaism or the talmudistic confusion of Jewish politics.

I think Mr. Ausubel has done a service by bringing these problems to light.

KARL SHAPIRO.

IN HIS letter Mr. Shapiro raises a variety of interesting objections to statements I made in my article. Due to the limitation of space I shall try to deal with only a few of these. His reflections on religion, I believe, are somewhat remote from the question at issue.

1. Mr. Shapiro states: ". . . I would like to ask how many Jewish writers have felt the need in our time to express their Jewishness."

Possibly Mr. Shapiro has not discussed this matter with many Jewish writers, especially in the past two years when the awareness of the Jew *as* Jew has become painfully acerbated by the crimes of Jew-baiting fascism. The plain fact is though that a good many *have* written about Jewish life, problems and character. To mention but a few: Jakob Wassermann, Arnold and Stefan Zweig, Max Brod, Joseph Roth, J. R. Bloch, Arthur Schnitzler, Andre Spire, Edmond Fleg, Georges Duhamel, Ilya Ehrenbourg, Isaac Babel, Rebecca West, Louis Golding. And in the United States: Edna Ferber, Michael Gold, Meyer Levin, Albert Halper, Daniel Fuchs, Samuel Ornitz, Henry Roth, Howard Fast, J. H. Lawson, Elmer Rice, S. N. Behrman, Edwin Seaver, Sidney Kingsley, Irwin Shaw, Clifford Odets, James Oppenheim, Louis Untermeyer, Isidor Schneider, Alter Brody, Martin Feinstein, Robert Nathan, Waldo Frank and others.

2. Mr. Shapiro states: ". . . I don't think the writer who happens to be a Jew has any more obligation to his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jewishness than a Christian has to Christianness."

This statement, I regret to say, is a non sequitur. Mr. Shapiro's error is that he confuses Jewishness with Judaism, ethnic and group identity with religion. To point this confusion more sharply—suppose I were to paraphrase Mr. Shapiro's statement and say: "Mr. Langston Hughes has no more obligation to his Negroness than a Christian writer has to his Christianness." It is precisely this attitude which wealthy Jewish reactionaries have seized upon to disassociate themselves from their unfortunate people. In Germany it led "Honorary Aryans" like the banker Max Warburg and the publisher Ullstein to help finance Hitler; in the United States it has prompted men of their stripe to seek to prevent public action on behalf of the Jews *by Jews*. They too have insisted on defining the Jewish people as consisting of "co-religionists" only. This, they believe, absolves them of any obligation towards the Jews, of any identification with them except in formal temple worship.

3. Mr. Shapiro states: "But to emphasize the massacres of the Jews at the expense of other Nazi atrocities . . . is to obscure the real issue of Nazism."

It is puzzling to me why Mr. Shapiro should think that for a *Jewish* writer to emphasize the frightful mass slaughter of 6,000,000 Jews—more than a third of all the Jews in the world—is an injustice to the other victims of Nazi terror. Does the moral imperative of one necessarily exclude the other? There is a Rabbinic saying: "If I won't be for myself—who will? And if I'll be for myself alone—what will I be? And if not now—when?"

To be sure, there are millions of Christians, workers, intellectuals, and anti-fascists and decent people generally, who are devoted to the eradication of anti-Semitism not only because it is a barbarous injustice, but because they understand its true political function: to serve as a springboard for reaction to divide and enslave mankind. However, the very nature of capitalist society, which is immoral and anti-social at its core, encourages cynicism and inhumanity towards the suffering of people. A perfect example of this currently is the heartless treatment of the million Jews who have survived the Nazi terror.

Would Mr. Shapiro also advise the Negroes: "Do not emphasize the lynchings and the bitter oppression of your people at the expense of other oppression! What you must do is to fight *universal* oppression!" As if there could be any contradiction between the two—as if to fight against one was not to fight against the other! Furthermore, does he think they would accept such advice? They might even regard it as a casuistical evasion of their responsibility to their unhappy people.

Two years ago, men like Ilya Ehrenbourg, Itzik Feffer, Professors Mikhoels and Kapitza, all being Jews as well as Communists and Russians, felt their obligation to their own bitterly persecuted people when they organized the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow to arouse the sleeping conscience of the world against the mass annihilation of their people by the Germans. Were they less Russians or Communists for that?

The whole of society has many parts. By attending to a particular problem we help solve the universal constellation of problems, although the approach to both must be thoroughly integrated by a progressive social philosophy. The Soviet Union has shown the way to treat the Jewish problem and other minority problems in relation to *all* of society. What is more: it has actually solved the problem.

4. Mr. Shapiro poses the following question: "Why don't Jews write about themselves?" And he gives the answer: "It would be artificial . . . to revive racial or national memories which are moribund or dead."

Is Mr. Shapiro aware of the logical implications of his opinion? Are Jewish life and culture mere "memories" and "moribund or dead"? Perhaps like Mark Twain's comment on the report that he was dead this statement too is slightly exaggerated. Jews and Jewish culture are of the very pulsating fabric of life, as are all peoples and all cultures. Despite Mr. Shapiro's epitaph they are still very much alive and creative. Jewish problems today are, if anything, very compelling, and only those who wish to escape the disagreeable impact of their urgency, or the moral obligation to do something about them, can deny their existence.

Mr. Shapiro concludes with the observation that Jewish life, according to his own definition, cannot satisfy "the artist who is concerned with more than race nostalgia or neighborhood sentimentality." As one who admires Mr. Shapiro as a poet and respects him as an honest man, I cannot believe that this represents his last judgment upon the drama of suffering of the Jewish people, upon its turbulent history, its rich culture, its social idealism!

NATHAN AUSUBEL.

TO ME Jewish writing of a sort is inescapable for a Jewish writer. Much of every writer's material is drawn from his childhood and his family life. When he is not conscious of it his characters are likely to be Jews with Gentile names and physical descriptions. The dropping off of these unintended masks would unquestionably strengthen the characterization.

All this must be understood, however, within a larger frame. If the characterization has reality and life it will convince, whatever the racial face. The human identification comes first.

Jewish writers consciously portraying Jews may help offset the cliches in Gentile portraiture of Jews. I recently read F. Scott Fitzgerald's brilliant novel, *The Great Gatsby*, all of whose characters are ignoble, including its one Jew. His portrayal disturbed me; but considering that all the characters were unpleasing I dismissed my qualm as perhaps my defensive "Jewish reflex."

Later, in the collection of brief writings by and material about Fitzgerald in the book called *The Crackup* I read a letter on *The Great Gatsby* by Edith Wharton, in praise of his "*perfect* Jew" (Mrs. Wharton's italics). I then realized the validity of my first reaction. Fitzgerald's name for the "perfect Jew" *Wolfsheim* [illegible] significant. Here was the predatory Jew of the Middle Ages carried through Shylock and Fagin to Fitzgerald's Jewish racketeer, preying on Gentile dupes. The counterpart Gentile's Jew, the saintly sage, creation of the Gentile guilt consciousness, is of course no truer a portrait. The real portrait of the Jew that will affirm and rest on his humanity, can only be the creation of Jewish writers. Only Jewish writers can have the necessary lived knowledge.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Spain in Exile

SMOULDERING FREEDOM, *by Isabel de Palencia. Longmans Green. $3.*

THE story of the Spanish Republican exiles cannot be told too often. These days it is a live issue again in the mass meetings throughout the length and breadth of the land through which individuals and organizations strive to sever the diplomatic relations that still exist between our country and the fascist regime that sent these people into exile.

Isabel de Palencia, who was the last minister plenipotentiary to Sweden of the Spanish Republic, tells the story again

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Landscape

Hooves of far cattle tap on his brain
Crutches of wind rattle dry branches
"Carry me home" he cries to a train
Send the drums forward, death advances

Ourbody soldier in shrapnel bed
White with wounds like a burning candle
Three crows shuffle at his spirits head
Red ants march on bayonet handle

"He is alive," little grass whispers
"We shall wait," cough guns across the hill
A childish plane is saying vespers
A red ant stands serious and still

Now the great fish is loose in his veins
Birds in his breath beat a wing of ice
The hearts last lions lick their gray manes
And a cloud looks deep in his eyes

Now from the wood howl the dog-wild dogs
And in a dark cave the drums riff twice
Mushrooms and violets dream by logs
And a cloud falls asleep in his eyes

The weather of death blows in his ear
And silence lies down in his voice
The lilies and field mice come to stare
And across the hill the guns rejoice

Hooves of far cattle mourn in the sky
A lost wind nests in low branches
"I'll take him home," is the trains faint cry—
Beat all the drums, death advances.

FLOYD WALLACE.

Mr. Wallace is the author of "Soldier Song," published in NM of July 31 as the prize-winning poem of NM's recent Art Young Memorial Award Contest for Poetry.

in her new book, and tells it very well indeed. Prefacing her narrative with a thirty-six-page summary of the war itself, she follows with the personal stories of many exiles—distinguished and humble—who were driven from their native land by the invading armies of Hitler and Mussolini.

These stories gain poignancy over other refugee stories by virtue of the fact that the Spanish refugees alone among the European peoples oppressed by fascism have no place to go. Their homeland, protected by a spurious neutrality, has not yet been liberated, and this fact alone is of consummate irony. For the neutrality of Franco served only to guarantee the continuity of international fascism, to guarantee the continuing murder of Spain's republican populations.

While Senora de Palencia tells her many stories with patent heart and sound conclusions, one has the feeling that there is something lacking in her book. I would describe it as partisanship—not for republican Spain, for she is an iron-bound partisan of the Republic. What seems lacking is a proper allegiance to those forces within and outside Spain who are going to liberate her country in the near future. By maintaining a strange neutrality between the contending groups of Spaniards in exile, Palencia fails to strengthen the hand of the one group she concedes is really capable of rallying the majority—the Negrin group.

It is a sad fact that the recently convened Cortes in Mexico succeeded in isolating Juan Negrin—together with substantial groupings without whose support no unified movement for the reconquest of Spain is possible. While admitting that the Prieto group now holds the balance of power among the exiles, it is curious not to find Palencia evaluating Prieto and his *junta* as they must be evaluated. For Prieto himself has long since been exposed by Premier Negrin as a traitor to the Republic, and Prieto's influence at all times has been toward a narrow, nationalistic understanding of the Spanish problem—and toward a vicious anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism that is the hallmark of greater villains that he.

Spain will be reconquered, however, by the people who remained behind after the war, and while the exiles (if they achieve real unity) can help materially toward the reconstitution of their Republic, the fight itself when it comes, will be carried on by those who could not escape from Spain. They will bring to life a slogan whose memory depressed us all for many years: *Madrid Will Be the Tomb of Fascism.* That slogan has been reborn again, and it will triumph. Isabel de Palencia's new book will add to the understanding of those people whose assistance and understanding is needed to make it reality.

ALVAH BESSIE.

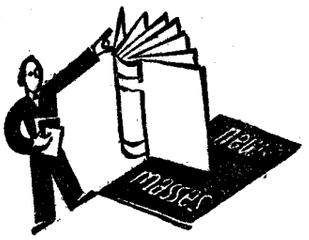
Industrialized Farm

NOT IN OUR STARS, *by Josiah E. Greene. Macmillan. $3.*

THE first prize for fiction in the Macmillan Centenary Awards, open to American citizens in the armed services, went to Sergeant Josiah E. Greene's *Not in Our Stars.* Its setting is a large dairy farm, a sort of company town, with its barns, bottling plant, offices, and cottages for the dairy workers. The major theme is the conflict between the manager and the drivers over better conditions and wages. It is a chunky novel, almost 600 pages. The writer bit off quite a piece; but it is the reader who does the choking.

Some secondary stories in this novel are handled more effectively than the main plot. This is particularly true of the sex-hounding of young Freda Ellis by a pack of bigoted women. While the main conflict becomes involved, weighed down by the sinkers of interminable dialogue, this story gains in intensity and suspense as the daughter of the leader of the sex-hounders goes "bad" and through her mother's agency

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



One Year of
NEW MASSES

Reduction made from subscription rate (regularly $5 a year), not book list price

plus

FREE OFFER
TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD ----------by John Reed

	List Price	Combination Price
THESE ARE THE RUSSIANS---- by Richard E. Lauterbach	$1.50	$6.00
DILEMMA IN JAPAN -------- by Andrew Roth	2.50	6.75
ALL BRAVE SAILORS -------- by John Beecher	2.50	6.75
A LION IS IN THE STREET---- by Adria Locke Langley	3.00	7.25
ON A NOTE OF TRIUMPH---- by Norman Corwin	1.50	6.00
RICKSHAW BOY ---------- by Lau Shaw	2.75	7.00
PATTERN OF SOVIET POWER.. by Edgar Snow	3.00	7.25
THEY SEEK A CITY---------- by Arna Bontemps and Jack Conray	2.75	7.00
COLOR AND DEMOCRACY --- by W. E. B. Dubois	3.00	7.25
TIN HORNS AND CALICO---- by Henry Cristman	3.75	8.00
SOLUTION IN ASIA--------- by Owen Lattimore	2.00	6.50
PEOPLE ON OUR SIDE ------ by Edgar Snow	3.50	7.75
SITUATION NORMAL -------- by Arthur Miller	2.00	6.50
THE COLLECTED WORKS OF V. I. LENIN—Volume 23 ------	2.75	7.00
THE CHINESE LABOR MOVEMENT by Nym Wales	2.75	7.00
WALT WHITMAN ---------- by Samuel Sillen	1.50	5.75
COLLECTED WORKS OF TOM PAINE—Edited with comments by Howard Fast ----------	3.50	7.75
THE SOVIET SPIRIT --------- by Dr. Harry F. Ward	.50	5.00
THE SELECTED POEMS—1912-1944 —OF ALFRED KREYMBORG..	5.00	9.00

NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I wish to take advantage of your combination offer. Enclosed find $.....

The book I desire is: .....

.....

Please send it to:

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... *Zone*.....

State .....

Add $1 for Canadian and Foreign Postage

dies after an abortion. This Freda Ellis story points to a major weakness of the novel, for it seems to this reader that had Sergeant Greene used it as the hub and axle of the novel with the other conflict on the rim, so to speak, the result would have been a stronger novel, and it would still have been the story of the Weyland Dairy.

Not in Our Stars is further weakened by the stand of Sergeant Greene in the struggle between the drivers and the dairy. He would have us believe that he is objective and nonpartisan. He chooses two characters to act as mediators, to scold both sides and dump live coals on their heads. What is illuminating about this device is that the middlemen (the office assistant and the young driver Sam Roberts) are sophomoric gasbags; they are unreal, the weakest portraits in the whole gallery. Significantly, also, the chief "troublemaker" among the drivers is a cripple, whose brother is a Communist, one of the "weaselly men" who slings a jargon full of "trite phrases and stencilled ideas." The reader is pushed to a violent dislike of this crippled ringleader and nuzzled to a sneaking admiration of the boss-manager, who refuses to install a new furnace in a cottage during the winter because it might be interpreted as a sign of weakness.

The workers in this novel then are underlings, cripples, and buffaloed people, who learn nothing at all in their dealings with the manager. But this is not a true or typical picture of a group of American workers, even though they are handicapped by working in a rural section. Having been on dairies and plantations with a setup similar to the one described by Sergeant Greene, worked with the men in barn and lot, slept with them in the dormitories, and gone to the town of a Saturday night for beer, I maintain this picture is cut on a wild bias, is even slanderous.

Obviously, the experience of Sergeant Greene demonstrates again that it is no light job to write an industrial novel, one truly grounded in the character of the American worker and the shop and the farm. For it requires a technical skill and an understanding of the economic and social forces not easily or cheaply acquired. It demands love and compassion for the people, a deep sense of responsibility to them. And humility. One does not drink of this spring without kneeling.

The country is in the throes. The working people are girding themselves for one of the great struggles of their history. What lights up the confusion and postwar wreckage like a huge flare is this fact: in the forefront of the battle to protect the fruits of victory and to ensure for all a just, democratic, and prosperous peace stands the American worker, a gusty, cocky guy, who with all his limitations and strong prejudices has heart and guts. Cheap generalizations about unions cut at his hamstrings. So do "trite phrases and stencilled ideas" about "weaselly men." The author, as a soldier, may weigh the charge that, perhaps unwittingly, he is giving ammunition to those who are once more mining the world for another war and are the most violent and uncompromising enemies of his people.

BEN FIELD.

Tests for Teachers

MORE THAN AN ACADEMIC QUESTION, *by Franz Schneider. The Pestalozzi Press. $4.*

MANY a college graduate has asked himself in later years, "Was it worth all the time and effort?" In this scholarly work Professor Schneider gives us one good reason why such dissatisfaction is widespread.

"The greatest obstacle," he declares, "in creating high teaching standards and in raising teaching to eminence, lies in the hybrid nature of our larger colleges and universities and in their domination of the educational scene. They are supposed to function as 'teaching institutions' for the nation's superior young people and they receive as such large public and private sums of money, yet actually they are primarily concerned with wanting to be 'research institutes' and the nesting places of great scholars. In consequence, they hire predominantly men who are devoted to 'scholarship,' and pay but scant attention to their qualifications as teachers with social vision, courage, and leadership."

For this state of affairs Dr. Schneider has a remedy. "If we want better teachers," he maintains, "we must above all else have teachers who are ever willing to submit to checks on their performances, lest they fall into dull routine, loose thinking, or noxious smugness. The scientist checks up continuously on his techniques and experiments; the doctor is ever ready to have his skill and knowledge challenged, for every case he takes is such a test. Why should we glibly assume that the teacher alone, whatever his age, experience, or natural endowment, is always right and steadily efficient?"

The means he proposes for checks on the performance of teachers is the use of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Class in painting and sculpture at War Veterans Art Center, recently established at the Museum of Modern Art to help bring about, through the arts, the readjustment of the veteran to civilian life. Any veteran may join the Center. Instruction and materials are free, or of nominal cost. Classes are held in drawing, painting, jewelry, metalwork, sculpture, ceramics, design, woodworking, wood engraving, book illustration, graphic arts, silk screen printing, lettering, layout and typography. Work done by the veterans is on exhibition at the Museum through November 25.

what he calls *Student-Faculty Reaction Sheets*. The reaction sheets call for rating by the students on the teacher's attitude toward them, presentation of subject matter, stimulation of interest, etc. Specific examples of questions asked are: (1) Does he (or she) stick closely to the subject matter of the course? (2) Does he encourage the students to ask questions? (3) Does he welcome class discussion and allow students to voice their opinions?

"We give preference to the term 'reaction sheet,' in these inquiries," writes Dr. Schneider, "because we look upon them as an excellent means for self-study rather than an inglorious submission to students' criteria. They serve essentially a diagnostic purpose. . . ."

In addition to the use of reaction sheets, Dr. Schneider recommends the setting up of a Dean of Instruction. "His function would be to act as trusted receiver and guardian of the 'reactions' that come from students, be they suggestions, praises or complaints. His office would simply be the place where an instructor can go to find out just how his students feel about his teaching and his methods." Other functions would be: (1) "A friend and counselor to the young men and women who are teaching our classes while they study for higher degrees." (2) To act as "shock-absorbers" against the hurt of untempered criticism by a rash student. (3) To function as a tribune of the people, expressly representing the general public interest.

Among universities which have taken this matter seriously is the University of Michigan, which made an ambitious attempt to get legislation passed which would require the evaluation of faculty services by students. On the whole, however, colleges and universities have resisted the idea, and Dr. Schneider's books have been persistently ignored by educational journals. But outstanding educators like Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn have supported him and I close with this estimate by Dr. Edwin R. Guthrie, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Washington in Seattle: "Professor Schneider has hit upon what I believe is the most direct road to the improvement of university teaching." NAOMI B. WILLETT.

Labor Facts

LABOR FACT BOOK NO. 7, *by Labor Research Association. International. $1.60.*

"LABOR FACT BOOK" is a book that will not rest on your shelf; it will be in constant use if you have to prepare a speech, teach a class, or explain the background of any issue. Everything that most people will want to know is packed neatly in it, with a workable index to help you get what you want quickly.

The latest volume, the seventh of the series issued since 1931, covers the past two years. Unlike many economists, Labor Research has the knack of presenting statistics and summaries of important laws, conventions and programs in such a way that the reader can get the essentials. Its material is neither oversimplified nor overelaborated. With its facts and figures go simple explanations to prevent misinterpretations. You do not have to be a statistical genius to use this little book.

The section on labor and social conditions is among the most pertinent to present-day labor struggles. For instance, in the efforts of the labor movement to prevent drastic cuts in take-home pay because of reduced hours of work, a favorite argument of employers is that they will be bankrupt if they have to give the two dollars per day wage increase CIO and AFL unions are demanding. But the fact is that with the tremendous production of 1943, overtime pay amounted to $12,000,000,000, while only $3,600,000,000 of this was premium pay above straight-time rates. And it was this $12,000,000,000 that helped to boost American production from $88,600,000,000 in 1939 to $187,800,0000,000 in 1943. In the same period corporation profits, before taxes, went from $15,700,000,000 to $23,700,000,000 in 1943. Bankruptcy?

Or if you cannot figure why you never quite catch up with the grocery bills and the rent, take a look at pages 125 to 133. The story is all there. You will find out that a budget estimated to provide "standard health, decency and moral well-being" for a wage-earner's family requires approximately $2,800 a year, or about fifty-four dollars a week. But the average weekly wage of factory workers only, with overtime and all, was $47.45 in December 1944; and there were at the same time some 10,000,000 workers getting less than fifty cents per hour.

Or if anyone is inclined to become smug about the gains made by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NAT LOW of the *Daily Worker*
and
JOSEPH FOSTER of *New Masses*
invite you to a
MUSICALE
Bach, Brahms, Beethoven, Schubert
and
HOT JAZZ
Refreshments — Dancing
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3rd, 8 P.M.
59 CHRISTOPHER ST., near 7th AVE.
Admission $1.00
Proceeds Ben Davis election campaign

NEW MASSES
104 East Ninth Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed please find $10 for two one-year subscriptions. Of the following choice of books, Oboler Omnibus, by Arch Oboler; Sowing the Wind, by Martha Dodd; African Journey, by Eslanda Goode Robeson; The Patern of Soviet Power, by Edgar Snow; Dragon Harvest, by Upton Sinclair; A Street in Bronzeville, by Gwendolyn Brooks; Rickshaw Boy, by Lau Shaw, I should like the book listed below:

Book title .....

Book to:
Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone No. .....
State .....

Sub to:
Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone No. .....
State .....

Sub to:
Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone No. .....
State .....

Negro worker during the war, let him read pages 169 and 170. He will find out that while very important advances were made, there were 1,000,000 Negroes employed in domestic service in 1944, the same figure as in 1940. The number employed in industries such as steel and smelting, with heavy and dangerous work, had increased to twenty-five percent and thirty-three percent respectively. There was "late admittance" of Negroes into war industries. "Training, upgrading and promotion of Negroes generally lagged behind employment." This means that employers still clung to their discriminatory, divisive policies of hiring Negroes for the lowest paid jobs, or the heaviest and most dangerous. At the same time, by retarding their entry into war industry, they tried to make sure that the Negro workers would be the first fired when the layoffs came, or if retained, kept in the low-skill jobs.

Those who already know its value from previous issues of *Labor Fact Book* will need no further persuasion from a reviewer; for those who have not yet made use of it *Labor Fact Book* can be unreservedly recommended as a reference handbook of the highest quality in the most important area of American life. GEORGE SQUIER.

Three War Books

THIS IS WHERE I CAME IN, *by Robert J. Casey. Bobbs Merrill. $3.*
SILVERSIDES, *by Robert Trumbull. Holt. $2.50.*
GUERRILLA WIFE, *by Louise Reid Spencer. Crowell. $2.75.*

NONE of these books need be bought and only one read. Casey and Trumbull have written their reports in weary journalese, which cannot be accepted as a substitute for English. Casey tells stories of a convoy and of the Normandy campaign. He concentrates upon "characters" and the "spectacle of death." Fortunately, his hero is Maj. Gen. Maurice Rose. His portrait of that great soldier will refute many an anti-Semite's argument. Trumbull's *Silversides* is so badly written that some alert publisher should give us a book worthy of the submarine service in its place.

A good war book must be based upon either wonder or understanding. Bill Mauldin's *Up Front* has that understanding. Mrs. Spencer's *Guerrilla Wife* has some of the quality of wonder. She was taken quite by surprise, like a Scarsdale matron discovering a snake at a garden party. Mrs. Spencer flees to the edge of the Panay wilderness with a group of American mine employes and missionaries in order to escape internment by the Japanese. The group organizes itself into a replica of Scarsdale, even to church services, burnt roasts and bitchy remarks. The destruction of this community, Hopevale, by the Japanese has a nightmare reality that Mrs. Spencer's ingenuous style succeeds in conveying. In spite of her thoroughly middle-class attitude towards the native population, I feel you might enjoy this book. At least, you will understand the "good" American imperialist and his wife. BILL AALTO.

Healing a Sick Town

A CITY FOR LINCOLN, *by John R. Tunis. Harcourt, Brace. $2.*

JOHN R. TUNIS' latest book, *A City for Lincoln,* is a boy's story that is entertaining and instructive not only to the young citizens for whom it is intended, but for anyone who enjoys a good tale. In it the ailments of a politically sick American town are attacked by the united efforts of labor, small businessmen, and independents organized into a Citizens' Committee, aided by the untiring interest and effort of high school boys and girls who have learned to have faith in honesty and democratic self-government.

A hot struggle takes place in which the progressive forces face a violently reactionary kept press, a Red-baiting campaign, a banker-dominated radio station, and a corrupt political machine out to steal ballot boxes and prevent citizens from exercising their franchise. The result is a new popular government, an end of big-shot wire-pulling, a start on municipal ownership of the local electric power plant, and the operation of a Juvenile Aid Bureau by the youngsters themselves.

The book has some faults, but none to diminish its interests. The total effect permits its hearty recommendation for all kids from the age of twelve upwards.
MACK ENNIUS.

Southern Orator

SERGEANT S. PRENTISS, *by Dallas C. Dickey. Louisiana State University Press. $4.*

THIS biography of a pre-Civil War Southern politician noted for his oratorical prowess is written by a professor of speech. The book, therefore, is devoted largely to rather technical and detailed reports of the mode of delivery, contents, and contemporary critiques of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES

Classified Advertisements

50¢ a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50. Approx. 7 words to a line.
Deadline, Fri., 4 p.m.

NEW AGE GALLERY

THE NEW AGE GALLERY, INC.—Oils, Small Sculpture, Watercolors, Drawings, Prints, by Well Known Artists. Gallery hours: 11 to 5 p.m. daily except Sunday. Rosa Pringle, Director. Telephone: WAtkins 9-1069.

ART LESSONS

ART LESSONS BY WELL KNOWN ARTIST-TEACHER, Saturday morning class for limited number, 12-16 years, now forming. Highest references. Progressive Institutions. Box 2, NM.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE—INSURANCE of every kind, whatever your needs. Frequent Savings. 17 East 49th St., New York 17, N. Y. Phone EL. 5-5234.

INSURANCE

LEON BENOFF, 391 East 149th St., N. Y. C. Fire, Auto, Burglary, Liability, Compensation, etc. Tel. MElrose 5-0984.

SITUATION WANTED

Executive Assistant-Secretary; extensive experience administration, personnel, organizational, social welfare; resourceful, mature. Box 1902, New Masses.

ROOM WANTED

Woman-writer, Ph.D., author books on Russia, wishes quiet comf. furn. room (kitch. privil.). Engl. speak. environment. Exch. rent plus Russ. lessons, if desired. Preferably River section, W. bet. 80-120 Streets. Box 1901, New Masses.

ROOM FOR RENT

Beautiful large room, convenient transportation. Box 614, 2013 Jerome Avenue, Bronx.

NEW MASSES
104 East 9th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed find $5 for an NM subscription to a public library, and send me free TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.

☐ Please enter the sub for the library listed below.

☐ Please select a library which does not have a subscription.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

Send book to:

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ..... State .....

Buy

VICTORY BONDS

the oratory. Also, and incidentally, it contains a treatment of local Mississippi politics from 1830 to 1850 written from the viewpoint (comparatively enlightened) of the Federalist standard historians to whom Jackson and the Locofocos were anathema.

Such a viewpoint is necessary to any sympathetic handling of Prentiss who was a bank director, large landholder, slaveholder, real estate speculator, newspaper proprietor—and a leading Southern Whig, whose personal letters stated that he had "lost confidence in the people," and was certain that since Jackson "the Republic no longer exists." In spite of Professor Dickey's specialized interests and ideological preferences the essential facts concerning Prentiss' considerable role in the economic and political life of ante-bellum Mississippi appear in this volume.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

Worth Noting

TO PHOTOGRAPHERS: The Photo League is collecting photographs for an exhibition on race relations which it is preparing for the Independent Citizens Committee. Send photos you think could be used in such a show to the Photo League at 30 E. 29th St., New York 16.

WITH the statement that "the most effective method of promoting mutual confidence between the peoples of the US and the USSR is to give the Russian people English language classics that reflect America's heritage and way of life," the publisher Bennet Cerf, of Random House, opened the current Russian War Relief drive for books for the depleted foreign language libraries of the USSR. In cooperation with the drive the Stanley Theater of New York, which exhibits Soviet films, will accept three books as admission to its current feature, *We Accuse*.

THE American Negro Theater, which produced, among other important plays, the hit *Anna Lucasta*, is beginning a new season in a new and larger playhouse at 15 W. 126th Street, New York. It has set itself a goal of 5,000 sponsors in its current subscription drive.

Kermit Bloomgarden & George Heller present
DEEP ARE THE ROOTS
A New Play
by ARNAUD d'USSEAU and JAMES GOW
Staged by ELIA KAZAN
FULTON THEATRE • 46th Street West of B'way. CI. 6-6380
Eves. 8:40. $4.20, 3.60, 3.00, 2.40, 1.80, 1.20.
Mats. Wed. & Sat. $3, 2.40, 1.80, 1.20. Tax inc.

SECOND BIG WEEK
'WE ACCUSE'
The Kharkov War Guilt Trials
Air Cooled Doors Open 8:45 a.m. daily
STANLEY 7th Ave., bet. 41st-42nd Sts. Tel., Wisconsin 7-9686

SECOND WEEK
"GIRL NO. 217"
plus "THE HALFWAY HOUSE"
IRVING PLACE IRVING PL. at 15th St.

Announcing the opening of the
SERIGRAPH GALLERIES
Hours: 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.
38 W. 57 St., N.Y.C. Circle 5-8936
Cooperatively conducted by members of the National Serigraph Society
OPENING EXHIBITION:
"Members Prints in Permanent Collections."
Silk screen Xmas cards now on view.

REDUCE...
Special — 5-week Complete Course includes Swedish Massage, Individual Exercise, Posture Correction, Vapor Baths, etc. Regular $35-Course . . . NOW $30
1457 Broadway (42 St.) New York City
GOODWIN'S GYM

Your Success and Happiness in Life depend on your appearance.
Hair Permanently Removed
BY NEW RADIO METHOD
ROSE KRUCHKOVE
Men Also Treated
253 W. 58th ST., NEW YORK CITY
Room 27 Circle 7-4276
Res.: 8 Brighton 15th St., Brooklyn DE. 2-5884

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIGHTS and SOUNDS

IRWIN SHAW'S "THE ASSASSIN"

Reviewed by Matt Wayne

IN *The Assassin*, based on the death of Darlan, Irwin Shaw brought to Broadway his most ambitious play.

Mr. Shaw has often manifested a kind of pride in the workings of paradox, and in the Darlan episode contradictions abounded. For while the deepest hatred of the Vichyites was felt by the people of the Left, it was a young Royalist who fired the shot that killed the traitor Darlan. In the operations of the murder plot Shaw apparently thought he had found the significant fact of political progress in our time: namely, that political affiliation in its effect upon a man's social role is secondary, his personal quality as a human being being the crucial determinant.

In eight scenes, or episodes, *The Assassin* sketches Mr. Shaw's interpretation of what happened just before and after the American landing in North Africa—the hopes of the underground that Darlan will meet his just fate, their sabotage against Vichy's defenses, Darlan's mistrust of his high command and their machinations to make themselves acceptable to the Americans, the scandalous adoption of Darlan by the Americans, and his reign of terror against the underground. Shaw's contribution to history is an anti-Darlan general who manages the release from jail of a young Royalist underground worker whom he instigates to murder Darlan, on the promise that another man—a tubercular doomed to die in three months of his disease—will be substituted for him on the gallows. After the assassination, the substitution plan is discovered by Darlan's henchman and the Royalist goes to his death. At the last moment the henchman offers the Royalist freedom if he will tell who planned the murder; but this offer is refused on the ground that the henchman will put himself forward as the savior of law and order and thus succeed Darlan.

In the absence of other evidence one has no right to quarrel with Mr. Shaw's reconstruction of history. It is plausible enough and provides the counterplay of plot that a good historical melodrama requires. And yet, as it came across, *The Assassin* was diffuse, mannered and lifeless.

At the core of the trouble would seem to be Mr. Shaw's attitude toward political beliefs. Throughout one is aware of the playwright's refusal to face political conviction as a fact of life. Thrown together in the underground is a group of people representing many shades of opinion, from Communist to Royalist. It is Mr. Shaw's thesis that what matters is not so much their political views but a uniting nobility of character—their "quality." One cannot deny that there are men in every party who possess this "quality," who are brave and self sacrificing. One must deny, however, that such qualities obliterate all differences between men of conflicting views. The main source of conflict in the play was certainly meant to be between the Underground and the Royalist, who is rather an anomaly amongst them. One had a right to expect then that this conflict find expression in their conflicting aims. Instead we have high-flown verbiage which substitutes for the real argument that must have taken place among these people. With their true conflicts bypassed, Shaw's "solutions," through common personal virtues, become unconvincing and unreal. Like much of current sophisticated anti-political writing about politics, which finds history's turns called almost wholly by personalities, the end product is sentiment, not the realism it pretends to. The play fails, in short, because it is not the truth about the people involved.

Aside from this serious thematic weakness the play suffers from a double focus. The constant shifting of scene from the French high command to the Underground serves a narrative purpose, but adds little to the central issue of the play—the Underground versus the Royalist. Moreover, since the playwright has not squarely faced the problems he has raised between Royalist and the Left, nothing is really proved by the Royalist's final self-sacrifice, since it is first and foremost a political act and not a temperamental act. By neglecting the issue Mr. Shaw consigned the last half of his play to the bare melodrama of the execution of a political assassin. And since the conclusion was foregone and the Royalist's inner conflicts undeveloped, it offers neither suspense nor enlightenment.

Martin Gabel has directed the production, in the conspiratorial manner of the writing, and thus supported the play's values, such as they are. Harold Huber had the most interesting part—a plainclothesman—and kept it just this side of corn with much dexterity and ease. The Royalist was shakily done by Frank Sundstrom, who was too old for the part and seemed confused, his moments of repulsion and admiration for the Underground not being sharply defined. Too, the part required more blood than he seems to have. Boris Aronson made very beautiful sets whose colors were keyed to the action.

Whose Bad Taste?

BOSLEY CROWTHER, movie critic of the New York *Times*, filled his column recently with speculations concerning the "adult film." He comes to the conclusion, after asking himself what he means by an adult film, that such films have limited appeal and die in the large mass-audience houses. As an example he points to *Love on the Dole*, whose "fidelity in exposing poverty and despair within a British working class family during the black depression fifteen years ago is not in the mass-favored spirit." The assumption then is that the movie audiences do

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not want honest realistic drama. The audience for such films is a refined elite, while the masses want only Grable's legs or Crosby's larynx.

That is sheer nonsense. If what Crowther says is true then how account for the success of *Mission to Moscow*, a film that lacked the usual narrative plot and the usual type of hero and heroine, or for *Grapes of Wrath*, which also dealt with the frustrations engendered by poverty? Perhaps Crowther was referring only to foreign pictures? Then how about *In Which We Serve*, also a British picture? But that film starred Noel Coward, a big box-office name. Then how about *The Lady Vanishes*, which had no glamor names for American audiences? You could say that it was a Hitchcock picture, but when you say that, you are arguing that the success of a Hitchcock film rests upon quality, since no director ever attracted glamor fans.

Such films as *Fury*, dealing with lynch-mob justice, *Action in the North Atlantic*, dealing with the importance of unions and the merchant marine, *Sahara*, showing the courage and efficiency of the Negro, were big money makers. Their success lays to rest the hoary debate: do producers manufacture trivia because of undeveloped public taste, or is public taste debased by the average Hollywood film? The public has given ample evidence that they like good films and will support them. Equally have the producers given sufficient evidence of their cynical disregard of public taste by carefully skirting pictures that would make people think, that would probe real issues. In this respect, they are one with the various hierarchies, financial, religious, moral, who want nothing that might strengthen the popular will for change. As a mass medium, what the movies do is of major concern to these hierarchies. Consequently, the country can be threatened with a disastrous depression, with a pro-fascist reactionary administration, but the people would not be interested, they say. What they want is soothing syrup! So on with technicolor and music. Do the veterans want to know about their job possibilities? Of course not? Such a film would die if shown to the millions of GIs. Make such a picture, by all means, but show it to the "little theater" groups, to the sophisticated, limited audiences.

Crowther has something to say about the "little theaters." I place these words in quotes, because these small theaters, showing the better pictures rejected by the large showhouses, have come to acquire certain snob prestige. Crowther says that even these places have failed. It is not to be wondered at. The average moviegoer has been educated to regard these places as arty, showing technically inferior films on esoteric subjects. This kind of education has been part of the same conspiracy to keep the crowds patronizing the pap that comes to the neighborhood houses.

I may be doing Crowther an injustice. He may not at all want to encourage the producers in the further manufacture of Nepenthean guck, yet in his conclusions that films like *Love on the Dole* would fail, he is telling the producer to forget about making "honest and interesting drama." He may sneer in his column over the slop that he is asked to review, but he is discouraging the making of anything else.

I don't like to "angle" his tastes, or his opinions on what the mass audience will or will not support, but his class bias is obvious. How else account for a mistrust of the audience intelligence, especially when the facts are to the contrary? He may point to *The Informer* and the loud noise its fall made when introduced at Radio City. The early Radio City, with its admission prices far in advance of other Broadway houses (they have since caught up), catered to "elite" audiences. But when this film played the chain neighborhood circuits, it proved to be one of the most popular ever shown, and it vied with the Marx brothers as a revival.

In the early days, in the days of old man Scripps, the *World-Telegram* used to feature on its masthead the slogan "Show a light and the people will lead the way." Show the people honest films and they will do as well as Bob Hope any day in the week.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

Art Calendar

Associated American Artists, 711 Fifth Ave. Albright Twins. First New York exhibit. Through Nov. 10.

American Contemporary Artists, 61-63 E. 57. (ACA). Tromka: paintings. Through Nov. 17.

Ferargil Gallery, 63 E. 57. Stuart Edie: recent gouaches. Through Nov. 3.

Modernage Gallery, 16 E. 34. Shirley Hendrick: impressionist oils and crayons. Harry Shoulberg: oils. Through Nov. 10.

New York Public Library, 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue. Jean Charlot: paintings with Mexican themes. Through Nov. 3.

HOTEL ALLABEN
THE HOUSE OF ACTIVITY
50 MONMOUTH AVE., LAKEWOOD, N. J.
LAKEWOOD 819 OR 1222
JACK SCHWARTZ DIRECTOR

Make Reservations Now
for
YOUR FALL AND WINTER
VACATION

Camp BEACON
BEACON, NEW YORK
There's Nothing Better Than a Winter Vacation or Week-End at
CAMP BEACON
beginning November 9th
- ALL INVIGORATING WINTER SPORTS
- HANDBALL COURTS
- PING-PONG
- MUSIC
- HIKING IN BEACON HILLS

Sun deck overlooking the Hudson and countryside. Warm, friendly atmosphere.
$38 weekly or $7 daily
We suggest reservations in advance
CAMP BEACON I. Wallman, Manager
BEACON, New York Tel.: Beacon 731

INVITATION TO RELAX
Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, outdoor activities, delicious food—and fun. Only 58 miles from New York.
PLUM POINT
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4270

CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
Birdland
Election Day Special — 4 days $30
CONGENIAL ADULT RESORT — OPEN ALL YEAR
All Sports. 10 Percent Discount for Servicemen.
N. Y. Phone: WAlker 5-4671
Highland Mills 7895 DIANA & ABE BERMAN

On Vacation
Re-opening Nov. 15th
Arrowhead
ARROWHEAD — Ellenville, N. Y.: Tel. 502

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Occasion of the Twenty-Eighth Anniversary of the Soviet Union, NEW MASSES next week presents a special issue:

MR. BYRNES AND THE RUSSIANS, by James S. Allen

THE RED ARMY AND PEACE, by Capt. Sergei Kournakoff

HOW MANY PARTIES MAKE A DEMOCRACY? by David Zaslavsky

WHAT EUROPE AND ASIA THINK OF THE USSR, by Norman Eberhardt and Alfred Goldsmith

THE ANTI-SOVIET PRESS: A CASE HISTORY, by Corliss Lamont

WHAT IS SOVIET DEMOCRACY? by Harry F. Ward

THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF SOVIET CULTURE, by Isidor Schneider

Begin your subscription to NM with this exciting issue. You will want to keep these articles for ready information about the life and present policy of the USSR. Send two one-year subscriptions and pick your free book on page 28. Send one, and we will forward to you John Reed's TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.

NEW MASSES, 104 East Ninth St., New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed please find $5. Please enter a subscription, beginning with the Nov. 13 issue, for:

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone No..... State.....

Send TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD to:

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone No.....

State .....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED